



# SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

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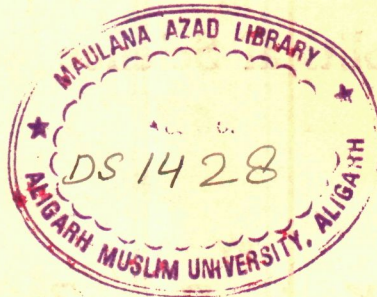




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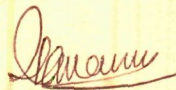
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of NAM" is, in my opinion, suitable for  
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## PREFACE

The wider acceptance of the policy of non-alignment by the majority of countries has been the most important and remarkable event in the annals of international relations since the second world war. After the second world war there was emergence of military alliances sponsored by United States of America and the Soviet Union. These military alliances were established by both the Super powers to establish their sphere of influence in the strategically important areas of Europe, Asia and Middle East. In 1949 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) came into being and few years later, the Soviet Union along with their allies of East Europe formed the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

After the conclusion of the second world war the correlations of world forces changed radically in favour of socialism and progress. The process of freedom and independence has started and many newly independent nations who has suffered a lot at the hands of colonial exploiters refused to join any power blocs or military alliances and decided to keep themselves away from the cold war politics and pursued an independent foreign policy. Jawahar Lal Nehru announcing India's foreign policy in September 1946 emphasized that India would remain outside groupings and military political blocs of states, trying at the same time to maintain friendly relations with all the countries.



In March 1947 Asian Relations Conference was called which was attended by more than two dozen countries. This Conference discussed inter-Asian-political, economic and cultural cooperation. But the main speech delivered by Nehru dealt with far more broader foreign policy issues. At the time of attainment of Independence by India in August 1947, Nehru defined his concept of non-alignment and declared India's firm determination to pursue an independent non-aligned foreign policy. The policy of non-alignment in its initial years was not properly understood both in India and abroad and it was wrongly interpreted as the policy of neutrality. The policy of non-alignment was not neutrality or neutralism but a positive policy to remain independent in foreign affairs and to judge issue on merit.

Of great importance for the evolution of the policy of non-alignment were the Indian-Chinese talks on Tibet in April 1954, and the adoption of Panch Sheela principles which were recognised and approved by many young states as the political and legal foundations of the policy of non-alignment. In April 1955, a Conference of African and Asian Nations was held in Bandung, attended by 29 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This Conference was called upon to provide an answer to urgent problems facing the Asian and African nations, to shun them how to combat the cold war policy and fight for peace and peaceful coexistence.

In September 1960, Nehru, Nasser, Tito Sukarno and others who were attending the session of UN General Assembly in New York



reached an agreement to convene a Conference of all Non-Aligned countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. And finally in 1961, the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held and attended by 25 members and 3 observers. This Conference has been regarded as one of the major events in the history of contemporary international relations. The Belgrade Conference discussed some important issues like struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid; support for the National Liberation Movements; dismantling of foreign military bases; the struggle for general and complete disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and struggle to eradicate inequality and organize effective economic cooperation and trade between the developing nations.

It is beyond doubt that non-alignment is instrumental in promoting peace and fostering brotherhood and tranquillity as well as safeguarding the interest of third world countries in the crisis ridden world. A lot has been written on non-aligned movement but as far as Soviet Perspective of NAM is concerned no systematic study in the form of the book has been made so far. This modest study is intended to make a systematic, scientific and analytical study of Soviet Perspective of NAM. The Soviet Union, despite its total commitment to a particular ideology, has extended all out support to the non-aligned movement. The Soviet Union have vehemently and invariably supported the NAM and also endorsed the unbiased stance of these countries by favouring both development and disarmament.



Right from the beginning of the NAM, the imperialist and colonialist powers, especially United States, opposed the policies of non-aligned countries. Similarly, the non-aligned movement constantly witnessed the pressure from the imperialist forces.

On the other hand Soviet Union welcomed the policy of non-alignment and emergence of the non-aligned movement in international relations. This can be proved by the documents of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956) which highly appreciated the desire of the newly free countries to shun imperialist powers and pursue the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence. As soon as the NAM came into being, the Soviet head of state sent special message to the Chairman of the First Conference of Non-Aligned countries, stressing the role of the young states in promoting peace and freedom and wishing its success in its goal. The positions of the non-aligned nations on major international problems, as recorded in documents by their Conferences and meetings are very close to the positions held by Soviet Union and other Socialist States.

The Soviet Union and almost all Socialist countries fully adopted the decision of the summit conferences of non-aligned countries, since these decisions are aimed at the elimination of colonialism, racialism and consolidating international peace and security, disarmament on nuclear weapons, seeking universal peace and progress.

This study has been divided into four chapters started from 1946 to 1986.

The first chapter deals with emergence, evolution, historical background and Belgrade Conference. The Belgrade Conference defined the criteria of non-alignment, its main aims and principles of the non-aligned movement. Some important issues like establishment of the rights of Arab people, the support of the struggle of the Angolan and Algerian people for their freedom and independence, withdrawal of French troops from Tunisia, has been taken for the study in this chapter alongwith the Soviet view on all these issues.

The second chapter deals with second, third and fourth summit conferences of Non-aligned countries taking all important issues existing at that time has been discussed in this chapter alongwith Soviet view of NAM towards these conferences.

The third chapter deals with Fifth and Sixth summit conferences of Non-aligned countries. Important documents were passed by the participants of these conferences. Fifth conference made an important contribution towards struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racialism and discussed the question of Namibia, Apartheid, Middle East situation, Palestine and condemned the Camp David Agreement and made an appeal to Israel to grant independence to Palestine. Economic and other important issues has also been discussed and Soviet view on all these issues has been explained.

And finally the chapter fourth deals with Seventh and Eight non-aligned summit conferences of non-aligned countries. This chapter deals with Iran -Iraq war, Russian intervention in Afghanistan, situation in western Sahara and Chad, Kampuchian problem



and discuss the acts of military political economic destabilization by South African regime against independent neighbouring states of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The problem of Indian ocean featured prominently in the final declaration of Seventh Non-aligned summit conference. Soviet Union fully supported the decision taken by these two conferences on various issues.

A thorough and careful attempt has been made to include all important issues and problems discussed by all the non-aligned summit conferences. Maximum attempt is made to utilise all existing available material on Soviet Perspective of NAM. I have largely relied on Soviet documents and publications. However, if the mistakes remain in dissertation, the whole responsibility lies on me.

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr (Miss) Iqbal Khanam, Reader, Department of Political Science, AMU Aligarh, for her patience, kindness and advice, and for having guided me in the study. She encouraged and helped me at various stages, inspite of her busy schedule. The study would not have been completed without her help. She took a deep personal interest and her advice and criticism have materially improved the form and contents of this study.

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I am also thankful to the staff of the following Libraries: Maulana Azad Library, AMU Aligarh; J.N.U. Library, New Delhi; ICSSR Library, New Delhi; Seminar Library of the Department of Political Science, AMU Aligarh; and lastly Indian Institute of Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi.

And above all I am proud to have kind blessings and affection of my father Mr. Syed Ansar Raza Zaidi, the other members of the family as well as some of my close friends and well wishers, i.e. Mr. Aslam Mehdi, Mr. Mozaffar Mansoor, Mr. S. Abid Husain, Mr. S. Sajjad Husain, Mr. S. Reyaz Husain, Mr. Masood Husain, Mr. S. Shamim Haider Zaidi, Mr. Ali Manzar Rizvi, Mr. Mohammad Seraj Anwar, Mr. Miftahuddin Khan and Mr. Mohammad Shafey Kidwai, Lecturer, Dept. of Journalism, AMU Aligarh.

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## Chapter - I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

India is the first non-aligned country and the doctrine of non-alignment was first formulated by its outstanding leader<sup>1</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru. In Nehru's conception non-alignment did not mean "disassociation" from the foreign powers, but also active opposition to their aggressive policy by non-aligned countries acting separately or in league with other freedom loving and peaceable anti-imperialist forces of the world.<sup>2</sup>

In view of this approach to the world politics Nehru considered it out of the question for India to align itself with any of the power blocs, and he made this clear on more than one occasion even before India emerged as an independent country on 15, August 1947. In his announcement of 7 September 1946, as Vice-President of Interim Government of India,<sup>3</sup> Nehru said:

"we propose as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale".<sup>4</sup>

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1. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Soviet View (Sterling, New Delhi, 1987), p. 12.
  2. Khan, Alim, The Non-Aligned Movement: Achievements, Problems, Prospects (Novosti, Moscow, 1985), p. 11.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Jawahar Lal Nehru's Speeches, Vol. 1, Sep 1946-May (Second Edition, November 1958. The Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India), p. 2.



When India got independence on 15 August 1947, Nehru defined his concept of non-alignment and declared India's firm determination to pursue an independent non-aligned foreign policy. The policy of keeping away from military alliances was not properly understood both in India and abroad. And it was wrongly interpreted as the policy of neutrality or neutralism. Nehru did not like to call India's policy of non-alignment even<sup>5</sup> of positive neutrality. He declared repeatedly that:

"We have proclaimed during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality ... We are not going to join a war if we can help it; and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when<sup>6</sup> the time comes to make the choice".

India's policy of non-alignment was a positive policy, and a policy to remain independent in foreign affairs and to judge issue on merit. Such a policy provided the non-aligned states with a free choice of positions on major international issues<sup>7</sup> without associating themselves with the policies of great powers.

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5. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 13.
  6. Jawahar Lal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy: Selected Speeches, September 1946-April 1961 (The Govt. of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publication Division, New Delhi, 1971), p. 24.
  7. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 13.

The policy of non-alignment was based on Peaceful Coexistence with different social systems. India wanted to develop friendly relations with all newly independent nations of Asia and Africa because it felt that the problem of India and other newly independent countries were more or less the same and that these problems can be solved only by the unified efforts of Afro-Asian states that is why even before India's independence Asian Relations Conference was called in New Delhi from March 23 to April 2, 1947. This conference was called to discuss problems of inter-Asian political, economic and cultural cooperation. Asian Relations Conference was attended by 28 countries and representatives of some republics of the Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup>

Opening the Asian Relations Conference Nehru said:

"Perhaps one of the notable consequences of European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another... As that domination goes, the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at one another again and meet as old friends long parted".<sup>9</sup>

The main speech delivered by Nehru at Asian Relations Conference dealt with far more broader foreign policy issues, Nehru said:

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8. Hari Jaisingh, India and the Non-Aligned World: Search for a New Order, (Vikas, New Delhi, 1983), p. 7.

9. Jawahar Lal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, n.s., 6, p. 250.

"We have no designs against any body; ours is the great design of promoting Peace and progress all over the world ... For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in Western courts and chancelleries ... We propose to stand on our own legs and to cooperate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others".<sup>10</sup>

Nehru, reiterated and expounded the foreign policy of India in his address to Indian Constituent Assembly, he said:<sup>11</sup>

"The main subject in foreign policy today is vaguely talked of in terms of "Do you belong to this group or that group"? That is an utter simplification of issues ... We have sought to avoid foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or the other ... We were trying to act according to our own lights and according to the merits of the dispute as they seemed to us".<sup>12</sup>

Nehru regarded non-alignment as an effective instrument in the hands of the newly free nations, with the help of which they could pursue an independent foreign policy".<sup>13</sup>

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10. Jawahar Lal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, n., 6, p. 251.
  11. Benevolensky, V., The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to Delhi, (Progress, Moscow, 1985), p. 15.
  12. Jawahar Lal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, n., 6, p. 245.
  13. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 13.



In January 1949, in view of Holland having launched an aggression against Indonesia, a Conference of Foreign Ministers of Asian Nations was convened in Delhi. It called on the UN Security Council to take the necessary steps to curb the Dutch aggression and carry out measures aimed at enforcing its recommendation should Holland fail to comply with it. The question was raised at the Conference of the need to set up a permanent regional organization of Asian-nations to defend their security.<sup>14</sup> At the opening of the Conference Nehru said:

"that the free countries of Asia should begin to think of some more permanent arrangement than this Conference for effective mutual consultation and concerted effort in the pursuit of common aims ...?"<sup>15</sup>

One of the resolutions adopted at the Foreign Minister's Conference pointed out that the participating states must consult one another in order to study ways and means of creating an appropriate regional mechanism to promote consultations and cooperation within the framework of the United Nations.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, pp. 8-9.

15. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, n., 6, pp. 410-11.

16. Conference on Indonesia (1949), New Delhi, 1949, pp. 21-2.

The years of 1949 and 1950 were a period of trial for India's non-alignment. The Korean crisis put India's non-alignment to test, for with a highly critical China, it was difficult for India to intervene without incurring Beijing's wrath. Nehru did not want to offend China. It was the first major cold war crisis on Asian soil and India did not want to be seen as taking sides. In the event, India's role was appreciated by USA, China and the USSR. The USA was hurt that democratic India did not side with the Western democracies. Tibet was another challenge to Nehru's non-alignment. Its annexation by China without even a guarantee of autonomy, left Nehru with no option but to protest. India's constructive role in the UN over the Korean question as a peacemaker (it voted in the UN calling North Korea as the aggressor) and its handling of the Chinese question established for the first time that India was impartial as between the West and the East and it was not appeasing anyone. In the 1950s India's policy of non-alignment came under severe attack in USA. It was linked to neutrality which, the USA suggested, was equal to playing the communist game. Nehru was under pressure both at home and abroad to change the policy one way or the other.

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The United States intervention in Korea and France's colonial war against Vietnam which began in 1946 were regarded in India, Burma, Indonesia and other newly free countries as an

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17. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, pp. 26-7.

encroachment upon freedom and independence. They came out in support of Liberation Struggle of Korea and countries of Indo-China. Soon after the victory of Chinese revolution and formation of People's Republic of China the Western countries began to establish military alliances in order to counter communist influence in Asia.<sup>18</sup>

The doctrine of non-alignment took shape in the complex conditions of the cold war, when in 1949 NATO was formed.<sup>19</sup> In 1950, the United States convened a Conference in Baguio (Philippines) to establish in South East Asia Military bloc of the NATO type. But this attempt was failed when India not only refused to cooperate in the very idea, upholding its principled policy of staying out of Blocs a policy of peaceful coexistence with all states, irrespective of their social systems.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1951, the US, Australia and New Zealand signed the ANZUS Pact.<sup>21</sup>

Among the Arab countries of Asia and Africa, the West paid particular attention to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Jordan. In October 1951, the United States, Britain, France and Turkey put to these countries a proposal, in the form

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18. Khan, Alim, n., 2, pp. 13-4.

19. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 12.

20. Khan, Alim, n., 2, p. 14.

21. Benevolensky, V., n., 11, p. 10.



of an ultimatum, that they should join Israel in setting up NATO backed - Middle East allied joint defence command with its headquarters in Cairo. But Arab countries rejected the West's plans.

India and Egypt headed the movement of Afro-Asian countries against the policy of imperialist powers and repeatedly rejected the West's attempts to draw them into Military groupings.<sup>22</sup>

September 1954 saw the formation of the Military-Political alliance between the US, Great Britain, France, Australia, Newzealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines (SEATO) South East Asia Treaty Organization or the Manila Pact.<sup>23</sup> But despite the persistent attempts of the Western Powers to get more members to the bloc, such large countries as India, Indonesia, Burma and Sri Lanka, refused to join that pro-imperialist military political groupings.<sup>24</sup>

Addressing the Indian Parliament, Nehru condemned SEATO, set up in 1954 and warned the Western Governments that they were pushing the world in the wrong direction. He said that "it is obvious that our participation in the Manila Conference would have meant giving up our basic policy of non-alignment".<sup>25</sup><sup>26</sup>

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22. Khan Alim, n., 2, p. 14.

23. Benevolensky, V., n., 11, p. 11.

24. Kovalenko Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 5.

25. Ibid., p. 13.

26. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, n., 6, p. 87.

Compared with growing threat of Military attack the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe concluded in May 1955, the treaty of Friendship and cooperation and Mutual Assistance which got the name of Warsaw Treaty Organization.<sup>27</sup> But unlike the imperialist powers, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries did not and do not have military-political blocs in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Therefore, when the newly free nations were forced with the question of whether to join or not to join any of the existing blocs, they could have in mind only the imperialist groupings. Hence the conclusion that the refusal of the newly free nations to join keeping their distance from global anti sovietism and anti-<sup>28</sup> communism from the bloc - oriented policy of the imperialist states.

Before the Bandung Conference a new bloc came into being - CENTO comprising Turkey and Iraq, joined by Britain and later on<sup>29</sup> by Iran and Pakistan.

Western countries used these military-political alliances and military bases build around the Soviet Union and other<sup>30</sup> socialist countries to combat national liberation movements.

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27. Benevolensky, V., n. 11, p. 11.

28. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 12.

29. Benevolensky, V., n. 11, p. 11.

30. Ibid.

Shortly before the Bandung Conference the two biggest newly free Asian States, India and People's Republic China,<sup>31</sup> which had embarked on different paths of social development signed a Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence known as Panchsheel, which were proclaimed in April 29, 1954 by India and People's Republic of China in the preamble to an agreement on trade and relations between the Tibetan region of China and India.<sup>32</sup> They are as follows:

- (1) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (2) Non-aggression;
- (3) Mutual Non-Interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit;<sup>33</sup>
- (5) Peaceful Co-existence.

These Panchsheel principles gradually entered into the day to day practice of international life.<sup>34</sup>

An international conference of African and Asian nations was held in Bandung on April 18, 1955, and was attended by 29 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was one of the

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31. Khan Alam, n., 2, p. 17.

32. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 9.

33. Foreign Policy of India (Texts of Documents), 1947-51 (Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, December 1959), p. 104.

34. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 10.



greatest milestones in the national liberation movement of the Peoples of Asia and Africa. It brought the People of Asia and Africa, for the first time on a common platform and laid down the foundations of the unity of the two continents, which is still  
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a vital factor in international affairs.

By this time the hostilities in Korea had ceased, France's dirty war in Indonesia had ended, but Britain's colonial war in Malaya was still going on; the Algerian people began their armed struggle against the French colonialists, which was to last many years, and dozens of Asian and African nations were waging a political struggle for the abolition of colonialist regimes. The cold war had started, affecting the interests of the newly free African nations as well. Under these conditions, a top priority task was clearly to define the Principles governing relations between the states of Asia and Africa and outline the specific  
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aims of their possible cooperation in the world arena.

The Bandung Conference was called upon to provide an answer to urgent problems facing the Asian and African nations, to show them how to combat the cold war policy and fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. The Bandung Conference endorsed the Five Principles of Peaceful coexistence and complemented them with new

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35. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 11.

36. Khan Alim, n., 2, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup>  
provisions.

The participants condemned the atomic and Thermonuclear war weapons, urging a ban on these monstrous devices of mass annihilation and expressed their support for disarmament. It also took up the question of economic independence of the newly <sup>38</sup> free countries and of ways to overcome their economic back log.

Nehru made it clear at Bandung:

"If there is anything that Asia wants to tell the world, it is that there is going to be no dictation in the future. There will be no yes-men in Asia, nor <sup>39</sup> in Africa, I hope".

The Declaration on world peace and cooperation stressed that all countries must display tolerance and live in peace with each other as good neighbours, and develop friendly cooperation <sup>40</sup> on the basis of the principles as follows:

- (1) Respect for Fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations;
- (2) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;

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37. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 10.

38. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 11.

39. Jawahar Lal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, n., 6, pp.271.

40. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 11.

- (3) Recognition of the quality of all races and the equality of all nations - large and small;
- (4) Absention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country;
- (5) Respect for the right of each nations to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;
- (6) A. Absention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers;  
       B. Absention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries;
- (7) Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;
- (8) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means ... of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;
- (9) Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;
- (10) Respect for justice and international obligations. <sup>41</sup>

The Bandung Conference announced that the ten principles should not only guide the Afro-Asian nations in their mutual

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41. The Non-Aligned Movement in Documents and Materials, Moscow, 1979, p. 426.

relations but also the entire gamut of international relations. The Bandung Conference was not called to resolve any specific question. It was a meeting of Asia and Africa on their common problems. It was to create a framework within which they should conduct themselves in their international relations. In this sense it was a great success. It also helped to prove the emergence of the Afro-Asian peoples as an organised force. However, no effort was made at Bandung to create a new bloc of Afro-<sup>42</sup> Asian nations.

After the Conference Nehru summed up the results of the meeting in the following words:

"The common factor was rather against Western domination. Everybody agreed about that. The other common factor was a <sup>43</sup> desire for social progress. Again everybody agreed about that".

The Bandung Conference was followed by combined attack on Egypt by Britain, France and Israel over the issue of Suez <sup>44</sup> Canal nationalisation. The Suez and Hungarian crises, the greatest confrontation between radical nationalism and major powers to occurred in the first twenty years of the post-war era. These crises brought the three countries, Yugoslavia, Egypt and India close to each other.

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42. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 12.

43. quoted by Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 12.

44. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 13.

When the nationalisation of Suez Canal led to the invasion of Egypt by Israel, Britain and France, India supported Egypt for obvious reasons of sympathy, but also had a close strategic interest in the Suez Canal which was crucial for her trade routes.

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The task of cooperation and mutual support between the peoples of Asian and African nations in their struggle for independence and social progress became more urgent than ever before. This task was undertaken by progressive social forces in the countries of Asia and Africa led by such outstanding political figures as Nehru, Nasser and Nkrumah.

Late in 1956, Delhi was the venue of a meeting of representatives of several national solidarity committees of Asian countries, which were set up in keeping with a decision of an Asian Conference held in Delhi on the eve of the Bandung. The meeting adopted a decision on sending to Cairo a mission of solidarity with the courageous Egyptian people in their struggle against the British - French - Israel aggression. The mission suggested holding in Cairo the first Conference of solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa. The Conference was held in Cairo a year later, towards the end of December 1957 and was attended by representatives of progressive anti-imperialist forces in Asian and African countries. It set up the Afro-Asian People's

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45. On Consolidation of the Cause of World Peace (Cairo: U.A.R. State Information Service, 1966), p. 6.

Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and adopted documents strongly condemning imperialism, colonialism and racism.

Despite imperialism's resistance to the historical process of liberation of peoples, in July 1958 a People's revolution in Iraq overthrew the Pro-Western monarchic regime, and the newly formed republic embarked on the path of non-alignment and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact. It was a heavy blow to the West's bloc policy in Asia. It was an attempt to salvage what remained of the bloc, its organizers (from 1957 the Military Committee of bloc's included also the US) hastily moved the bloc's headquarters to Ankara (Turkey) and renamed it the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).<sup>46</sup>

During 1960-61 the Cold War was at its peak in the wake of failure of US-USSR talks. The U-2 incident, tension over Berlin, US intervention in Laos and Congo, the Cuban Crisis, all these and other events created a real global crises.<sup>47</sup> In September 1960, Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Sukarno and Nkrumah, who were attending a session of the UN General Assembly in New York, reached an agreement to convene a Conference of all non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

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46. Khan, Alim, n., 2, pp. 25-6.

47. Hari Jaisingh, n., 8, p. 13.



In April 1961 the Presidents of Egypt, Yugoslavia and Indonesia addressed the Heads of State and Government of twenty one non-aligned countries with a joint proposal to convene a Conference.<sup>48</sup> The Preparatory meeting was held in Cairo from June 5-12, 1961, attended by representatives of twenty countries of Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America, and Brazil as an observer. The Preparatory meeting was to prepare for a Conference of Heads of State or Government of all non-aligned countries.<sup>49</sup> The participants in the Preparatory meeting said that the forthcoming Conference could indeed promote stronger international peace, the development of international cooperation and fulfilment of aspirations of millions of people towards independence and a better life.<sup>50</sup>

The historical significance of the First Conference consists in the fact that its preparatory session in Cairo defined the criteria of non-alignment, which became the basis of the non-aligned movement.<sup>51</sup>

- (1) "the country should have adopted an independent policy based on the coexistence of states with different political and social systems and non-

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48. Khan, Alim, n., 2, p. 27.

49. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 18.

50. Benevolensky, V., n., 11, p. 25.

51. Kovalenko Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 18.

- alignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy;
- (2) the country should/<sup>not</sup>be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of great power conflicts;
  - (3) the country concerned should be consistently supporting the movement for national independence;
  - (4) if a country has a bilateral military agreement with a great power, or is a member of a regional defence-pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of great power conflicts;
  - (5) If it has conceded military bases to a foreign power, the concession should not have been made in the context of great power conflicts<sup>52</sup>".

Later, these criteria came to be called the criteria of<sup>53</sup> the membership in the non-aligned movement.

And finally the First Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned countries officially opened in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) on September 1, 1961, attended by 25 members and 3

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52. Collected Documents of the Non-Aligned Countries, Vol. 1, New York, 1978, p. 38.

53. Khan, Alim, n., 2, p. 29.

observers. Its participants included Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sirmao  
 54  
 Bandaranaike, Sukarno, <sup>and</sup> Nkrumah.

The Conference was the product of three factors: The close relations between Yugoslavia, Egypt and India, the dramatic impact of the African States on World Affairs in 1960; and a sudden increase in tension after hopes had been raised for an  
 55  
 easing in the cold war.

The Conference was greeted with Soviet Union's Nuclear test at its Arctic testing grounds on August 31, 1961. The tension between East and West were flared up again in August 1961, as a result of creation of Berlin wall. There was limited American mobilisation in mid August 1961. The Summit Meeting between USA and the USSR in May 1961 at Vienna produced no results. Surprisingly enough the non-aligned countries in the Conference did not speak against Russia's nuclear test, except the Nehru's condemnation of Russian nuclear's test in Belgrade airport immediately after his arrival.  
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In the course of Plenary meetings the Conferees exchanged opinion on many outstanding problems of strengthening international peace and security, eliminating colonialism, recolonialism,

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54. Benevolensky, V., n., 11, pp. 26-7.

55. Willett, Peter, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of the Third World Alliance (Dopular, Bombay, 1976), p. 10.

56. Rao, Subba, T.V., Non-Alignment in International Law and Politics (Deep & Deep, New Delhi, 1981), p. 102.

racial discrimination and apartheid, effecting disarmament and banning nuclear tests, and attaining economic development "to contribute more effectively to World Peace and Security and peaceful cooperation among peoples".<sup>57</sup>

The Conference adopted important documents the Declaration of the Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned countries and the Statement on the Danger of War and Appeal for Peace. The Declaration stated that: "... a lasting peace can be achieved only if ... colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism in all their manifestations are radically eliminated ..."<sup>58</sup>

The participants supported the struggle of the Algerian and Angolan peoples for their freedom and independence, and for the struggle of the Tunisian people for the withdrawal of French troops from their country. They also condemned the foreign invasion of the Congo, the imperialist policy in Middle East, and apartheid policies in South Africa. The Conference urged that the people of Angola should be assisted by all peace loving countries. They pointed out that the right of Cuba as and that of any other nation freely to choose its political and social system in accordance with its own conditions, needs and possibilities should be respected.<sup>59</sup>

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57. Two Decades of Non-Alignment. Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned countries, 1961-1982, Delhi, 1983, p. 5.

58. Ibid.

59. Khan Alam, n., 2, pp. 31-2.

The participants also demanded the re-establishment of the rights of the Arab People of Palestine. The Conference welcomed the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and peoples and this Declaration was adopted<sup>60</sup> by 15th UN General Assembly session on Soviet initiatives.

The statement on Danger of War and Appeal of Peace pointed to the already existing tension fraught with the possibility of a world war, which would inevitably lead to devastation on a scale hitherto unknown. The Conferees sent a message to the Heads of the Government of the USSR and the USA and called on them to resume negotiations for a peaceful settlement of any<sup>61</sup> outstanding differences between them.

The most important result of the Belgrade was that on behalf of the non-aligned nations it officially proclaimed their rejection of bloc oriented policy, their "non-alignment to blocs" "The non-aligned countries represented at this Conference do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot be a bloc", The Declaration affirmed, "they sincerely desire to cooperate with any Government which seeks to contribute to the strengthening of confidence and<sup>62</sup> peace in the world".

As far as concrete decisions were concerned the economic section of the Declaration consisted of mostly declarative calls

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60. Banevolensky, V., n., 11, pp. 20-30.

61. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 57, p. 9.

62. Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned countries, 1961-73, Belgrade, p. 16.

to establish justice in Trade, to eliminate inequality in economic relations, to use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in the interests of the young state's development and so on.

63

The Belgrade Conference may be regarded as one of the major events in the history of contemporary international relations. It marked the emergence in the world arena of a new independent political group of states capable of influencing the balance and alignment of forces in resolving the most crucial problems and raised the non-aligned countries to a new level of collective world politics - that of international summit Conferences.

64

#### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

The independence of India marked the beginning of the process of liquidation of the world colonial system as well as the birth of a new force in international politics - the non-alignment movement. Hence the process of liquidation of colonial system was accelerated, the non-alignment movement also turned into a reckoning force in international politics. Soviet interest and involvement in the liquidation of the world colonial

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63. Benevolensky, V., n., 11, p. 30.

64. Khan Alim, n., 2, p. 35.



system have traditionally been clear and unequivocal since the very birth of the Soviet State in November 1917. However, when the process of liquidation of the world colonial system actually began in 1947, its historic and wide ranging importance was not immediately grasped by the Soviet leadership. Moreover, the very fact the Soviet policy of non-alignment during its initial formative period (1947-51), as pursued by its main exponents, like India, was more verbal than real, reduced its credibility in the Soviet Union.

By the beginning of fifties, the Soviet leadership began to look at the policy of non-alignment a little more intently. Although quiet diplomatic overtures were made by India even before Stalin's death (March 1953), the first Public recognition of the policy of non-alignment was made in August 1953 when Soviet Premier, Malenkov<sup>65</sup> praised "the efforts of peace loving countries directed towards the end of the Korean war" and singled out India<sup>66</sup> for a significant contribution". Thereafter the significance of non-alignment<sup>67</sup> continued to grow among the Soviet leadership.

There had been two opposing military political blocs-NATO and the WARSAW Treaty Organization. It is a common and wellknown fact that the Soviet Russia was repeatedly a target of imperialist aggression that during the years of Second World war the Soviet

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65. Zafar Imam, "Soviet View of Non-Alignment", Secular Democracy (Narendra Gopal Ekta Trust, New Delhi) Vol. 9, (14-15)

August 1970 p. 191.

66. Pravda, August 9, 1953.

67. Zafar Imam, n., 65, p. 191.

Union lost 20 million lives, to say nothing of the destruction<sup>68</sup> of thousands of its towns and villages. India had been critical of existing Military Pacts, subsequently voicing opposition to the efforts for those in making and finally, actively moving to keep as many nations as possible away from their way and to neutralize their influence. Nehru objected to the North Atlantic<sup>69</sup> Treaty Organization.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have always opposed and continue to oppose the division of the world into blocs. They have repeatedly proposed that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization be simultaneously dissolved. They are not to blame for the fact that the West has ignored this proposal. The Soviet Union does not seek hegemony, it does not need it. A world without bloc, without the use of force in international relations, peaceful co existence and equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between states this is what the Soviet wants. In world arena the USSR and USA, the Socialist community and NATO are ideological opponents and are engaged in a sharp political<sup>70</sup> struggle.

Without reflecting any basic change in the past attitude, the reactions of the communist bloc to India's foreign policy<sup>71</sup> during June 1952-July 1953 indicated some improvement. The Soviets

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68. Khan, Alim, n., 2, p. 70.

69. Mallik, D.N., Non-Alignment in India's Foreign Policy, (Chatinya, Allahabad, 1967), p. 133.

70. Khan, Alim, n., 2, p. 70.

71. Mallik, D.N., n., 69, p. 141.

appeared reacting more and more favourably to India's non-  
<sup>72</sup>  
 alignment from August 1953 onwards. By March the Soviets were  
 cheering Premier Malenkov when he praised "the great Indian  
<sup>73</sup>  
 people". By January 1955 the Soviet press was hailing India  
<sup>74</sup>  
 as a factor of peace in Asia.

In a very calculated way, the USSR agreed to recognise  
 the "famous five principles" on 9 February 1955 and left a clear  
 hint that it was well set to open a new chapter in its relations  
<sup>75</sup>  
 with the non-aligned countries. On 29 December Khrushchev told  
 the Supreme Soviet that India's non-alignment was "worthy of  
 deep respect" and that they were happy with India's growing  
 friendliness with the third States, meaning the West thereby, and  
<sup>76</sup>  
 hoped to improve the Soviet relations with them through India.

Just after the couple of months later, when the First  
 Afro-Asian Conference was held in Bandung, the Soviet Government  
 came forward to greet the participants and it showed complete  
 understanding of the struggle of the Asian and African countries  
<sup>77</sup>  
 for both political freedom and economic independence. The Supreme

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72. Parliamentary Debates, 6 (2), 1953, cols. 4059-4065.

73. New Times 5 (29 January 1955), p. 7.

74. Ibid., 6-8.

75. Singh, S.P. "Soviet Attitude Towards Non-Alignment", Indiana Journal of Politics, (Dept. of Pol. Sc., Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, vol. xx, nos. 1-2, March-June 1986), p. 91.

76. For lasting Peace, For People's Democracy, (Belgrade) 30 December 1955, pp. 3-4.

77. Pravda, 30 April 1955.

Soviet of USSR sent its affirmation of the panchsheel to Indian  
78  
Parliament.

The Soviet Union welcomed the Panchsheel principles as  
79  
a universally accepted basis for interstate relations. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU not only gave full credence to non-alignment, but also indicated the Soviet's rejection of the inevitability of war and their acceptance of the feasibility of transition to socialism peacefully through Parliamentary majority in the capitalist countries with less powerful reactionary forces, military  
80  
and police machinery. The Report of the Party Central Committee to the Congress emphasized the historical significance of these principles, supported by the Bandung Conference and by the broad international community, consists in the fact that they determine, in the present conditions, the best form of interrelations among states with different social systems. Why not make these principles the basis of peaceful relations between states in any part of the world? The adherence of all states to the five principles would accord with the vital interests and requirements of all  
81  
peoples". The CPSU further proposed to the United States making  
82  
these principles the basis of its relations with Soviet Union.

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78. Lok Sabha Debates, 2 (2), 1955, cols. 3946-7.

79. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 33.

80. For Lasting Peace For People's Democracy, 24 Feb. 1956, 1 and 2 March, 1956, p. 10.

81. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A Shorthand report, Moscow, 1956, Vol. 1, p. 66.

82. Ibid., p. 412.

The USSR rendered effective and diversified assistance to the heroic people of Vietnam. The Soviet Union stood on the side of the Egyptian People when they came under the attack of Britain, France and Israel in 1956.<sup>83</sup>

Favourable Soviet attitude towards India led Ambassador K.P.S. Menon to acknowledge on June 22 1956 that everything "now" furthered normal development of Indo-Soviet friendship which, as the Soviets fully understood with others".<sup>84</sup> The Soviets did not grudge Nehru's visit to Washington in December 1956.<sup>85</sup> The crowning point of Soviet's appreciation for India's non-alignment lay in their suggestion, coming at the end of February 1958, for India's inclusion in the Summit Conference they were proposing. However, the Soviet's continued to describe India "friendly" in contradistinction with their description of the communist powers as "fraternal".<sup>86</sup>

It is therefore clear that Soviet Union has demonstrated, both in words and deeds in the international arena, that it follows policies that are fully in accord with and not antagonistic to the principle of non-alignment. In fact Soviet Union has endeavoured to create Public opinion in the world in support

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83. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 16.

84. Current Digest of the Soviet Union Press, 12( 1 August 1956) p. 13.

85. Ibid., 52 (6 February 1957), p. 20.

86. Ibid., 43 (5 December 1956), p. 12.

87

of non-aligned countries.

The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist policy pursued by non-aligned countries and their efforts to strengthen peace and international security have fostered greater cohesion of these countries working towards stronger political and economic independence. Of paramount importance for the world community was the non-aligned countries' policy of principle against the racist regimes in the South Africa and their imperialist patrons. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries regard the non-alignment as a policy of large group of developing countries and the non-aligned movement as an influential force in world arena and from the outset supported the movement's resolutions and initiatives in every possible way.

The Soviet Union and all socialist countries welcomed the foundation of non-aligned movement and have always considered it as a possible factor in the development of international relations. Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are not the members of non-aligned movement but build their relations with the non-aligned countries on the basis of equality, non-interference in the domestic affairs, mutual respect and due account for their common goals - the struggle for Peace and Peaceful co-existence and against

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87. Jaya, Pathirana, "Soviet Policies in Accord with the Principles of Non-Alignment", Soviet Review, May 27, 1976, New Delhi, Vol. xlii, p. 30.



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imperialism and colonialism. The Soviet leadership paid handsome and unreserved tributes to this growing solidarity of the developing nations as a common programme inspite of  
89  
their differences.

In a message to the US President and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers as representatives of two most powerful nations of our times, in whose hands lies the key to peace and war. Nehru, Nasser and other leaders of non-aligned countries called on Soviet Union and United States to resume talks and  
90  
avert the danger of the world war. Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier had told the leaders of the non-aligned nations that his Government is prepared for Peace talks "at any time, in any level" and "above all" to take part in peace Conference in Berlin and Germany.

"The Soviet Government is prepared to take part in talks which are genuinely aimed at the faster solution of urgent international questions and above all in peace Conference, the question of concluding a German Peace Treaty and normalisation  
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on the basis of the situation in West Berlin", said.

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88. Benevolensky, V., n. 11, pp. 108-109.

89. Zafar Imam, "Soviet View of Non-Alignment", K.P. Mishra, (Ed), Non-Aligned Movement, Frontiers and Dynamics (Vikas, New Delhi, 1982), p. 455.

90. Khan, Alim, n., 2, p. 34.

91. Hindu, 23rd September 1961.

In their message the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers wrote to the Conference:

"We know that Peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries, who once lived in a state of colonial slavery have not awakened and have straightened their shoulders together with other peoples they are voicing their support for peace, national independence and freedom.

"The Government and peoples of Soviet Union, confronted with tremendous tasks of peaceful construction regard, as before, the idea of peaceful cooperation and coexistence of states as the basis of their foreign policy. They, therefore, warmly approve of and support all states directed and curbing the forces  
92  
of war".

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union did not unconditionally support the non-aligned policies. Such a views in various documents and declarations, which made both bloc equally responsible for endangering peace and for the underdevelopment of the Third World, were especially criticized. Even the reactions to the Belgrade Summit in 1961 were mixed. In fact, on the same day as opened of the Belgrade Summit meeting, on 1 September 1961, the Soviets tested hydrogen bomb. The attempt at Belgrade to have

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92. Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, Soviet View of Non-Alignment (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 23-4.

Kennedy and Khrushchev resume their discussions were rejected, in a friendly but cool manner, by the Soviet Union at the 16th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1961. Nonetheless the results of Belgrade Conference were positively received<sup>93</sup> by Soviet Press.

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93. Fritche, Klaus, "The Non-Aligned Movement in Soviet Perspective", The Non-Aligned World, Vol. II, no. 3, July-September, 1984, (Central News Agency, New Delhi), p. 369.

## Chapter - II

SECOND NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

After the Belgrade Conference the world witnessed great change that had an appreciable impact on the non-aligned movement. Over a mere three years that had passed since the First Conference, some three dozen independent nations, mostly African, emerged on the world scene.<sup>1</sup> Non-alignment was not born until 1961 as a coherent group of ideas propounded by a group of relatively likeminded states, it has also been maintained by the other people that non-alignment did not live beyond 1964; that the Second Conference in Cairo in 1964 was an Afro-Asian and not a non-aligned Conference.<sup>2</sup>

This conflict between non-alignment and 'Afro-Asianism' became even more pronounced when competition developed from the middle of 1963 between Sukarno wanting a Second Bandung and Tito wanting a Second Belgrade. The international political climate has greatly improved. After the earlier setback of Cuban Missile crisis in October 1962, there followed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the establishment between Washington and Moscow of a 'hot line' telecommunication link and the beginnings of a general detente between the Super Powers. Algeria became independent by a

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1. Kovalenko Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Soviet View (Sterling, New Delhi 1987), p. 21
  2. Jansen, G.H., Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment (Faber, London 1966) Chapters XVII-XVIII.

negotiated settlement with France and Joined the United Nations. In Congo U.N. troops brought to an end Tshombe's provincial Secessionalist regime, which removed one of the most bitter point of the conflict.

As a result of the relaxation of tension in Africa the Second Non-Aligned Summit Conference would be larger and less exclusive than the first one. Therefore the actual difference in composition between a new Belgrade or a new Bandung was a major importance: Communist China would attend an Afro-Asian and not a Non-Aligned Summit Conference. As the depth of the split between China and Soviet Union became more public, China increasingly sought to portray herself as a Third World country opposed to the hegemony of both the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup>

During Mid October 1963 Mrs. Bandaranaike visited Cairo and Nasser joined her in a joint communique calling for a Non-Aligned Conference.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime Nehru went off the scene in May 1964 and was succeeded by Shastri.<sup>5</sup> A preparatory meeting of

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3. Willetts, Peter, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of the Third World Alliance (Popular, Bombay, 1978), pp. 14-5.
  4. The U.A.R. and the Policy of Non-Alignment (Cairo, UAR State Information Service, undated), p. 33 and Documents, Activity of Non-Aligned Countries.
  5. Rao, Subba T.V., Non-alignment in International Law and Politics (Deep & Deep, New Delhi 1981), p. 105.

the representatives of 27 non-aligned countries was held at Colombo from March 23-28, 1964, before the Cairo Summit Conference. Subsequently a Ministerial meeting was held at Cairo on October 2, 1964<sup>6</sup> to work out a detailed agenda for the summit.

Finally, the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held on October 5-10, 1964. The Second Conference of Non-Aligned countries convened in circumstances and conditions different from those prevailing at the time when the Belgrade Conference was held.<sup>7</sup>

This Conference, reiterated adherence to the principle and goals of the non-aligned world as formulated in Declaration of the First Conference, and adopted the programme for Peace and International Cooperation.<sup>8</sup>

The programme for Peace and International Cooperation at the Cairo Summit Conference laid special emphasis on the fact that the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems is the only possible way to strengthen peace.<sup>9</sup>

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6. Hari Jaisingh, India and the Non-Aligned World: Search for a New Order. (Vikas, New Delhi 1983), p. 14.
  7. Radovanovic, Ljumbiv, Policy of Non-Aligned Countries. (Medunarodna, Politika, Belgrade 1964), p. 40.
  8. Benovolensky, V., The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to Delhi. (Sterling, Moscow 1985), p. 33.
  9. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedev, Rais, n., 1, p. 21.

Confirming that Peaceful Coexistence was the Politico-legal basis of their movement, in 1964 non-aligned nations came out with a global initiative within the framework of United Nations to codify the principles of Peaceful coexistence, and to adopt in 1965, on the occasion of the UN's 20th anniversary, a Declaration<sup>10</sup> on the principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The participants in the Conference "solemnly proclaim the following principles of Peaceful coexistence":

- 1) The right of all nations to complete independence;
- 2) The right of all peoples to self determination;
- 3) Peaceful coexistence between States with differing social and political systems;
- 4) The sovereign equality of states, including the right of all peoples to the free exploitation of their natural resources;
- 5) Abstention from all use of threat or force; a situation brought about the threat or use of force shall not be recognised; every state must abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of other states;
- 6) Respect for the fundamental rights and freedom of the human person and equality of all nations and races;

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10. Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1973, Belgrade, 1973, p. 45.



- 7) Settlement of all international conflicts by peaceful means, on the basis of equality and sovereignty; all states must apply themselves to promoting and strengthening measures designed to diminish international tension and achieve general and complete disarmament;
- 8) Cooperation between all states with a view to accelerating economic development in the world, and particularly in the developing countries;
- 9) Conscientious fulfilment by all states of their international obligations in conformity with the principles and purposes<sup>11</sup> of the United Nations.

We have made a point of quoting this section of the Declaration because these principles proved pivotal to the entire forthcoming activities of the non-aligned states.

The anti-imperialist thrust of the non-alignment became especially pronounced at the Cairo Conference, and a number of concrete peace proposals grew to include the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, the attainment of general and complete disarmament, non-proliferations and banning of nuclear weapons tests with the subsequent elimination of all types of weapons and the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes alone.

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11. Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, No. 10, p. 44.

Compared with the First Conference, the non-aligned countries outlined in greater detail their attitude to the problem of eliminating the vestiges of colonialism and liberating the peoples from foreign domination. The conferees came to the conclusion that <sup>12</sup> "colonial people may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self determination and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing <sup>13</sup> their natural aspirations".

They also said that the participating countries recognised the national movements of the people as being authentic representatives of the colonial peoples. In other words, the non-aligned countries formalised the right of national liberation movements to armed struggle and, after recognising these movements as the sole representatives of their peoples, gave them an opportunity <sup>14</sup> to take part in the non-aligned movement.

Problems pertaining to the struggle waged by the national liberation movements featured prominently in the resolutions of <sup>15</sup> the Conference. The Conference produced a programme for peace and international cooperation. In respect to the South Africa,

12. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, p. 36.

13. Two Decades of Non-Alignment. Documents of the Gatherings of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982, Delhi, 1983, p. 18.

14. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, p. 37.

15. Ibid., p. 38.

the Document

- (a) calls upon all states to boycott the South African goods and to avoid the exporting goods especially arms ammunition, oil and minerals to South Africa;
- (b) calls upon all states which have not yet done so to break diplomatic, consular and other relations with South Africa;
- (c) requests the Governments represented at the Conference to deny airport and overflying facilities to air craft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and fro South Africa

In respect to Portugal ... call upon all participating states to break diplomatic and consular relations with the Government of Portugal and to take effective measures to suspend  
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all trade and economic relations with Portugal.

In the first section of the Programme for Peace and International Cooperation the Conferees sharply censured all types of colonial, neocolonialist and imperialist policy, supported the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to establish peace in Congo, denounced Portugal's colonialist policy and called for the rupture of diplomatic relations with that country and for its trade and economic boycott in accordance with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly on decolonisation.

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16. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade, Vol. XV, 350, 5th November 1964, pp. 79-80.

The censure was passed on the policy pursued by the racist minority in Rhodesia, while the right of the People of South West Africa to self determination and the right of Palestinian People to their homeland and declared its support for their<sup>17</sup> liberation struggle.

The Policy document of the Cairo Conference declared that "colonialized people may legitimately resort to arms to secure the full exercise of their right to self determination and independence if the colonial powers persist in opposing their natural aspirations", and that "the participating countries recognize the nationalist movements of peoples which are struggling to free themselves from colonial domination as being authentic<sup>18</sup> representatives of the colonial peoples".

The Cairo Conference was the first forum to propose that peace zones free from nuclear weapons, including World Ocean zones, in particular the Indian Ocean, should be set up. The point is to be noted here that in late 1940s American Military presence noticeably grew in the Indian Ocean, while the early 1960s saw ever more frequent calls to the India ocean by large US Naval units - in 1962, ships of the US Seventh Fleet were

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17. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, p. 38.

18. Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, n., 10, p. 42.

stationed in the Bay of Bengal, and in 1963 the CENTO armed forces held military manoeuvres in the Arabian Sea with the participation of an American aircraft - carrier, submarines and ships. In late 1963, a special American armed forces command was formed for the Indian Ocean region. In 1964, an American squadron was already present in Indian ocean. The latter was turning into a zone, in which American troops could be deployed quickly to crises situations below the level of a general nuclear war and also enable direct military interference in the affairs of the countries in the region, especially those which had opted for independent development and non-participation in military blocs.<sup>19</sup>

As a result of the Cairo Conference, the non-aligned nations evolved a strategy in the UN forums to expedite the process of economic reforms. These efforts were instrumental in the establishment of a sound institutional framework within the UN system in order to advance the objectives of the non-aligned movement. Following the Belgrade and Cairo Conference, the non-aligned countries met at Geneva from March to June 1964 and demanded the establishment of a Permanent UN body to deal with the problems of trade. This resulted in the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)<sup>20</sup> on December 30, 1964.

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19. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, pp. 37-8.

20. Hari Jaisingh, n., 6, p. 63.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in June 1964 adopted, and urged all states to implement on an urgent basis the recommendations contained in the final Act of the UNCTAD and in particular to cooperate in bringing into existence as early as possible the new international institutions proposed therein, so that the problems of trade and economic development may be more effectively and speedily resolved.<sup>21</sup>

The final document also contained recommendations to revise the rates of the young state's development, to devise programmes to boost their foreign exchange earnings, to organise economic integration of these countries, to increase the amount of capital transferred to developing countries and also to improve the terms and conditions governing that transfer without political strings.<sup>22</sup>

#### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

When the Cairo Conference was opened in 1964, the Caribbean crisis had just been resolved. However, imperialism was actively intervening in the affairs of young states. The tension in Middle East was dangerously increasing and the USA was escalating its

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21. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 13, p. 25.

22. Ibid.

aggression against the Peoples of Vietnam. At the same time Peoples of Vietnam were extending and advancing their fight for peace and freedom. The head of the Soviet Government, addressing the Chairman of the Cairo Summit Conference wrote that the people of the world were rallying to "destroy the hot beds of military conflagration and the subdue the mad men who are trying to push the world into a thermonuclear catastrophe. The Peoples are filled with determination to uphold the policy aimed at relaxing international tensions, to pluck out the roots of, colonial oppression and exploitation and to secure a peaceful settlement of outstanding international problems.

Speaking at Sofia on May 1962 Khrushchev was more explicit when he said, "many leaders of countries that have won national independence are trying to pursue some sort of middle line policy, which they are calling a class less policy, and to ignore the class structure of the society and class-struggle rally existing their countries... We are convinced of one thing that time and the course of historical development will place before the former colonial countries to choice either to follow the capitalist way of development or non-capitalist way".

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23. Tuzmukhamedov Rais, Soviet View and Non-Alignment, (New Delhi 1976), p. 24.

24. Noorani, A.G., "Soviet View of Non-Alignment", Indian Express, May 24, 1969.

After the Chinese aggression in 1962, the Indian Military's weakness was an alarming sign. India could not get all the military equipments for defence from the US and Western world. However, Soviet Union came forward and with her help weapons were manufactured under licence in India - something that the USA and UK would not permit.<sup>25</sup> It further aggravated Soviet Union's relations with China, but they saw their own interest in a strong Non-Aligned and Friendly India - a point that the US policy makers failed to see or recognise.<sup>26</sup>

These tactical consideration led the Soviets to regard Cairo Conference (1964) in a more favourable manner. As a result of intensification of the Sino-Soviet conflicts, a Second Non-Aligned Conference was preferable from the Moscow's point of view than a Second Bandung Conference on the basis of Afro-Asian solidarity, which was supported by Chinese.<sup>27</sup>

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25. Kaul, T.N., "Super Powers", World Focus, Vol. 1, n. 11-12 Nov-Dec. 1980, p. 331.

26. Ibid., p. 33

27. Fritzsche, Klaus, "The Non-Alignment in Soviet Perspective", The Non-Aligned World, Vol. 11, no. 3, July-Sept, 1984, (Central News Agency, New Delhi), p. 399.



### THIRD NON ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

Global events were not in favour of the movement. The war with Pakistan in 1965 had created new problems for India, and there were greater divisions within the non-aligned movement because of Chinese and US mechanisations. The Vietnam war was going on and China was throwing feelers towards the USA after the "cultural Revolution". There was confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. Sukarno was no more in Indonesia. West Asia was in disarray after the Israeli aggression of 1967. The only positive feature of the time was the thaw in Europe between the West and the East.

A consultative meeting of the representatives of the non-aligned countries was held at Belgrade in July 1969<sup>28</sup> and produced a very vague and general formula ... that those interested countries that proclaim their adherence to the policy of non-alignment and particularly those who had won their independence after the Cairo Conference and all the members of OAU should be invited to the future gatherings of non-aligned countries in accordance with the principles and criteria observed at Belgrade<sup>29</sup> and Cairo Conference.

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28. Hari Jaisingh, n. 6, p. 15.

29. Review of International Affairs, Belgrade, nos. 464-65, 1969.

A meeting was held in New York by UN representatives of the non-aligned countries in September 1969. From April 13-17, 1970, a preparatory meeting of the Foreign Ministers of 51 non-aligned countries was held at Dar-es-Salaam to finalise the arrangements for the Summit.<sup>30</sup>

President Nyerere in his address to Dar-es-Salaam Preparatory meeting, said, "the real and urgent threat to the independence of almost all non-aligned states, thus comes not from the military, but from the economic power of the big states. It is poverty which constitutes our greatest danger and to a greater or lesser extent, we are all poor. It is in these facts that lies the real threat to freedom and to non-alignment".<sup>31</sup>

And finally third Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held at Lusaka (Zambia) from September 8-10, 1970. This Conference was attended by 53 members and 12 observers.<sup>32</sup> The Conference was first to have as guests, representatives of national liberation movements, including the front for the liberation of Mozambique, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, The Zimbabwe<sup>33</sup>

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30. Hari Jaisingh, n., 6, p. 15.

31. The Nationalist, Daily Newspaper, Dar-es-Salaam, 14.4.70, p. 5.

32. Rao, Subba, T.V., n., 5, p. 40.

33. Hari Jaisingh, n., 6, p. 15.

African National Union, the African National Congress of South Africa, the Front for the Liberation of the Coast of Somalia and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Conference declared its complete support for the struggle of the Indo-Chinese Peoples against the US aggression. It was at the Lusaka Conference that the Non-aligned countries openly denounced for the first time the US, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan for their political economic and military cooperation with South Africa, which encouraged the racist regime to  
34  
carry on the policy of apartheid.

The Lusaka Conference gave a broader definition of the concept of non-alignment. "The Policy of non-alignment", says the Lusaka Declaration, has "emerged as a result of the determination of independent countries to safeguard their national independence and legitimate rights of their peoples. The growth of non-alignment into a broad international movement cutting across, racial, regional and other barriers, is an integral part of significant changes in the structure of the entire international community. This is the product of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly-liberated countries which, opting for an independent political orientation and development, have refused to accept the replacement of centuries - old forms of subordination by new ones.

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34. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, pp. 10+11.

At the root of these changes lies the even more clearly expressed aspiration of nations for freedom, independence and equality, and their determination to resist all forms of oppression and exploitation. This has been the substance and meaning of our striving and actions, ... At a time when the polarization of the international community on the bloc basis was believed to be a permanent feature of international relations, and the threat of a nuclear conflict between big powers an everpresent spectre hovering over mankind, the non-aligned countries opened up new prospects for the contemporary world and paved the way for relaxation of international tension".<sup>35</sup>

There was a division over areas of concern between Arabs and Africans. The Arabs gave priority to the question of Palestine and Israel, occupation of Arab lands since 1967 war. Most of the Arab leaders made no mention of the Middle East situation. On the other hand, the African concentrated on Southern Africa. Although the representative of PLO was allowed to speak but was not accorded any official status. Both sides represented in the Communique with strong statements on Southern Africa and on<sup>36</sup>

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35. Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries,  
II, 10, p. 67.

36. Willetts, Peter, n., 3, p. 34.

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"full restoration of the rights of the Arabs People of Palestine."

The Conference specified the aims of the movement formulated in the following way:

- the pursuit of world peace and peaceful co-existence by strengthening the role of non-aligned countries within the United Nations so that it will be a more effective obstacle against all forms of aggressive actions and the threat or use of force against the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country;
- the fight against colonialism and racism;
- the settlement of disputes by peaceful means;
- the ending of the arms race followed by universal disarmament;
- opposition to Great Power military bases and foreign troops on the soil of other nations in the context of Great Power conflicts and colonial and racist suppression;

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37. Consultative Meeting of Special Government Representatives of Non-Aligned Countries. (Belgrade, Međunarodna Politika, 1970), p. 172.

- the universality of and the stating of strengthening of the efficacy of the United Nations;
- the struggle for economic and mutual cooperation<sup>38</sup> on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

While there were fifteen resolutions, the decisions on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress were given a greater status by separating them out as a "Lusaka Declaration". This time there was much less concern with the politics of developed countries. The appeal for aid was not based on the conscience of the rich but on the idea of a system and of balance... the poverty of developing nations and their economic dependence on those in affluent circumstances constitutes a structural weakness in the present economic order.<sup>39</sup>

International cooperation for economic development is not a one sided process of donor-donee relationships; the development of developing countries is a benefit to the whole world, including the more advanced nations.<sup>40</sup>

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38. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 13, pp. 46-7.

39. 'Lusaka Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress', Review of International Affairs, No. 491, September 1970, p. 87.7.

40. Ibid., p. 28, Section C i(9).

Declaration went into the details of cooperation by Joint Planning, mutual trade preferences exchange of information and joint infrastructure projects. If it were implemented, the programme would greatly improve the economic position of the non-aligned but the weakness of Lusaka Declaration (which was later remedied) is that no on going machinery was set up and there was only vague commitment to review and appraise periodically the the progress of mutual cooperation in the field of development<sup>41</sup> in pursuance of the programmed action".

The Participating Heads of State and Government recorded in the Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress their determination to raise at the next UN session the question of adopting a Declaration on the International strategy, which would envisage the aims and tasks of development and also the policy and measures to accomplish them. Among other things, a provision was to be made for maximising the use of raw materials, to promote their processing in areas of production and to provide access to consuming markets in the capitalist countries for processed products by young states. It was also recommended to undertake other measures to secure for developing countries an increasing share of international trade in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

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41. 'Lusaka Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress', Review of International Affairs, No. 491, September 1970, p. 29, Section D(c).

The Heads of States and Government of the Non-aligned countries agreed to propose that the forthcoming UN session adopt, apart from their economic development initiatives, a Declaration on Strengthening International Peace and Security, an Action Programme to implement speedily and completely the Declaration in the Granting of Independence to colonial countries and Peoples, a programme for the Disarmament Decade and a<sup>42</sup> Declaration on Principles of Peaceful uses of the Sea-Bed.

The Conference called for Indian Ocean to be an area of peace, free from military bases of outside powers creating tensions and Great Power rivalry. They decided to break off all diplomatic relations with Portugal and South Africa as long as those countries failed to confirm to United Nations decisions on decolonisation and racial discrimination. The Declaration demanded the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from lands occupied by them after June 5th 1967 and declared its seizure as<sup>43</sup> illegal.

The Declaration on Disarmament proclaimed the 1970 as the Disarmament Decade and gave detailed recommendations to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons, to take confidence building measures, to use nuclear power for peaceful purposes only. The

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42. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, pp. 43-4.

43. Rao, Subba, T.V., n., 5, p. 108.



conferees suggested that a world Disarmament Conference should  
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 be convened.

Last but not the least, the Lusaka Conference was the first  
 forum to propose that the UN debate the question of declaring the  
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 Indian Ocean a Zone of Peace.

As a result of the debates the Chairman of the Movement  
 (the President or the Prime Minister of the hosting country) was  
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 entrusted "with the function of taking all necessary steps to  
 maintain contacts among the member states, ensure continuity, and  
 carry into effect the decisions, resolutions and directives of  
 47  
 the conference of Non-Aligned countries". The representatives  
 of the non-aligned countries at the UN and other international  
 bodies had to coordinate their efforts to ensure the implementation  
 of the resolutions, decisions, and directives adopted by their  
 48  
 Conferences.

#### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

The Lusaka Conference was held when the change in the  
 balance of world forces in favour of Peace, democracy and socialism  
 was becoming more and more obvious. The ruling circles of USA

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44. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 13, p. 57.

45. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, p. 44.

46. Ibid.

47. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 13, pp. 57-8.

48. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, pp. 44-5.

realised that their position of strength policy with respect to the USSR was helpless. They suffered defeat in Vietnam. The anti-imperialist movements in the world were gaining momentum. In his message to the Chairman, of the USSR council of Ministers wrote:

In pursuing an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist course the Conference in Lusaka can make a contribution to the improvement of the international situation, to the struggle for the removal from international relations of all elements that threatened the general peace and freedom and independence of peoples... In firmly and consistently upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence the Government and Peoples of Soviet Union support the constructive plans of the Governments and Peoples of other states, which are aimed at saving mankind  
49  
from the threat of new cold war".

The Soviet view of non-alignment has evolved and developed in stages corresponding to the phases of the growth of non-alignment movement, i.e. the period of extending down the Lusaka Conference (1970) was regarded by Soviet leadership as a broadly uniform Movement with a marked convergence of interests between the non-aligned countries and socialist countries on such crucial issues

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49. Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 23, pp. 24-5.

as anti-colonialism, anti-racialism and peace and disarmament. Hence a blanket approach or all out support for the movement was adopted. It is obvious that this approach was conditioned by the international environment of the period; the process of liquidation of colonial system was nearly complete, and process of detente had already got underway. The non-alignment too had started shifting its attention from purely political issues to economic issues such as demand for a creation of a New International Economic Order. Besides the Soviet Union went through some unpleasant experiences in certain traditionally non-aligned countries (as e.g. Indonesia in 1965), in Middle East and aftermath of the war in 1967, in Vietnam war, etc. and in its relations with its own sometime, socialist ally China.

The shift in the Soviet 's view started showing in the Mid 1960s, when the Soviet Union manifested its inclination to develop relations with aligned nations like Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. Except for the Tashkent Agreement between India and Pakistan, this new found Soviet interest in the aligned countries failed to produce tangible results. In fact it only generated suspicion about Soviet moves with China was quick to exploit. However, it marked the beginning of the Soviet involvement in problems of regional character, where the non-aligned countries were directly involved, particularly in the interest of their

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defence security.

From the middle to the end of 1960s, Soviet strategy towards the third world changed radically. The Soviet proceeded from the assumption that a new stage in the development of the National Liberation movements had begun. It was no longer a matter of struggle for political independence; the central issue now was the struggle against exploitation. In this struggle, Soviets no longer accorded the ruling classes a positive role. The choice of the way of development - capitalist or non-capitalist - was the focal point of this struggle. It was no longer possible to speak of a unified Third World. The various countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America found their respective positions in one camp or the other. It is not astonishing that such an arrangement had ramifications for the definition of non-alignment.

The attitude to military or political group is no longer the only criterion of neutralism at the present stage in the liberation struggle of the developing countries. The non-aligned policy has acquired a more intricate character which goes beyond the bounds of some of the traditional concepts that originated in the mid 1950s.

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50. Zafar Imam, "Soviet View of Non-Alignment" K.P. Mishra, ed. Non-Alignment Frontiers And Dynamics, (Vikas, New Delhi, 1982), pp. 464-65.

51. Seleznyova, Y., "Developing States and International Relations", International Affairs, (Moscow 1968), No., 5, pp. 70 ff.

It was felt that a "non capitalist development on a ... basis (of the traditional concept of positive neutrality) is not possible. In the interest of the common struggle against imperialism", this "requires a reapproachment with the Socialist community, a clear understanding of the social nature of imperialism, and the rejection of the theories of 'poor' and 'rich' countries or of "two super powers", which rests on the<sup>52</sup> negation of the class character of both world systems".

In contrast to the non-alignment of individual states, the NAM as a whole was not viewed at this time as a "progressive forces" within the movement to demand the formulation of a<sup>53</sup> clear position. This movement has been ... from the beginning a heterogeneous one and has not possessed a definite platform... This is due, to a higher degree, to the fact that the participants of the movement did not agree on the (precise meaning of the) term 'non-alignment', that various forces within the movement<sup>54</sup> interpreted its principles in their own way".

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52. Uljanowski, R.A., Der Sozialismus und die befreiten Länder, (Berlin, GDR, 1973), p. 36.

53. Fritsche, Klaus, n., 27, p. 370.

54. Sidenko, V., "Aussichten der Blockfreiheit", Neue Zeit, (Moscow), no. 36 (1970), p. 18.

By the mid of sixties, problems and disputes considerably weakened Afro-Asian solidarity and nearly paralyzed the NAM. Nonetheless Yugoslavia - against the background of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 - was successful in its efforts to convene a third Non-aligned summit, which took place in Lusaka in 1970. Since then Moscow feared that its intervention of Czechoslovakia would draw heavy criticism from the participants at the Conference, it did it everything in its power to check such a possibility at an early stage. Moscow intensified its quarrel with Yugoslavia and heightened hostilities with non-aligned countries which were less favourably disposed to Soviet policies.<sup>55</sup>

An article in the semi-official journal, the 'International Affairs' criticised the summit conference as an "attempt on some leaders to attach paramount importance to the "division of the world into antagonistic blocs".<sup>56</sup>

The Soviet Union did not content itself with the mere expression of its disapproval of the Conference. In conformity with the resolutions adopted at both the 23rd Party Congress of the CPSU in 1966 and the International Meeting of Communist and Worker's Parties in Moscow in 1969, in which contempt for state

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55. Fritzsche, Klaus, n., 27, p. 370.

56. Klimov, A., and Laptev, V., "On the Policy of Non-Alignment" International Affairs, Moscow, no. 3 (1969), S. 17.

alliances was proclaimed and the "People's solidarity" was emphasized. Moscow urged the convening of a world-wide Conference of all anti-imperialist forces as an alternative to the Lusaka Conference.

At the third Summit Conference, the Soviet Union was spared the sharp criticism it had feared. In fact, Moscow's overall assessment of the Conference was, in general matter, positive. It indicated that "a certain vagueness was apparent in the Conference's statements", but emphasized that the attitudes and conduct of "some non-aligned states - this, of course, does not mean all - can be viewed as a contribution to the renewal of the world. These states are meant (sic) which reject the path of the capitalist development and carry out radical socio-economic transformations in the interest of the masses".

Following the Lusaka Summit Conference, the development of the NAM was characterized by a sharp upturn. Economic questions began to gain priority and plans were developed for the reshaping of the global economic order.

Such development, together with the growing importance of regional organizations in general, included the Kremlin to attach a much greater significance to the NAM than it did the years before. However, Moscow's basic position towards non-alignment remained unchanged. Moscow continued to criticize sharply the ideological basis of non-alignment, but at the same time it made considerable

efforts to gain influence within the group. In view of the continuing increase of tensions between People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, Moscow focused its criticism on the  
<sup>57</sup> legend of the division of the world into rich and poor nations. The essence of this theory is the assertion that the main conflict of our time is not the difference between socialism and capitalism, but rather the division of the world into 'rich and  
<sup>58</sup> poor nations'. Moscow viewed the "growing proliferation of this theory" in Asia, Africa and Latin America with apprehension. "At present ... nearly 100 countries ... belong to the group of 77'. They continually bring this theory of 'rich and poor nations' into the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) as well as into other organs of the United Nations and International Conference. This theory  
<sup>59</sup> can also be heard in the Conference of the non-aligned states".

This phase was marked by what we may describe as an effort to institutionalize non alignment in world politics. Behind this effort clearly lay a realization by Soviet leadership that

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57. Fritzsche, Klaus, n., 27, p. 371.

58. Alimov, S.I., and Stschetinin, W.D., Die Legende Von der Unteilung der Welt in reiche und arme Nationen, (Berlin, DDR, 1975), p. 8.

59. Ibid., p. 20.



without a firm commitment to regional security, stability and economic development of the non-aligned countries the movement might tilt away from socialist system and lean to the United States and its allies, including China.

#### FOURTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The Fourth Non-Aligned Summit Conference was held at Algiers from September 5-9, 1973. It was attended by 75 members. This Conference took the movement further along the radical road. Detente had come to Europe. SALT I was signed. China has come closer to USA. A new country Bangladesh had emerged, Mozambique Angola and Guinea-Bissau had won freedom. America had managed to overthrow the regime of prince Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia and instal the puppet regime of Lon No. 1. The American war in Vietnam ended in a humiliating defeat for the super power. President Nixon had visited China and USSR and detente seemed to be holding firm. The Paris agreement on Vietnam was signed between France and Germany in June 1973. It played an important role in consolidating the ranks of the movement and emphasized the significance of non-aligned nation's cooperation with the socialist states

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60. Jafar Imam, n., 50, p. 465.

61. Hari Jaisingh, n., 6, p. 16.

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and other peace loving and democratic forces.

Before the Algiers Summit a consultative meeting of the UN Representative of 55 non-aligned countries was held in New York in September 1971. In August 1972, a Ministerial Conference of the Foreign Ministers of 59 non-aligned countries was held in Georgetown to discuss the agenda for the Fourth Summit Conference. At Georgetown it was decided for the third time that 'the mandate of the existing Preparatory Committee shall be extended' to prepare for the Algiers Summit Conference.

Addressing the Algiers Conference, the Cuban leader Fidel Castro spoke on the aims and tasks of the non-aligned movement drawing special attention to the need for a relentless struggle against imperialism and colonialism. "To our way of thinking", he said, "the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, imperialist and neo-colonialized countries, colonialist and colonized countries, reactionary and progressive countries - governments, in a world, that back imperialism,

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62. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 1, p. 22.

63. Hari Jaisingh, n., 6, p. 16.

64. The Georgetown Declaration, the Action Programme For Economic Cooperation and Related Documents, (Georgetown, Ministry of External Affairs, 1972), p. 45.

colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and governments that oppose imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

"This seems to us to be basic in the issue of alignment and non-alignment, because there is nothing exempting us in any way from our central obligation of steadfastly fighting the crimes committed against humanity".<sup>65</sup>

In their Political Declaration the non-aligned countries mentioned certain favourable aspects of the obtaining international situation and the marked strengthening of the forces<sup>of</sup> peace, independence and progress.<sup>66</sup> At the same time they pointed out that "although substantial progress has been made in the easing of tensions between East and West, the fact that nations are faced with colonialism, domination and occupation, neocolonialism, imperialism and Zionism remains an indisputable reality of our times".<sup>67</sup>

Algiers Summit produced a noticeably more radical political declaration than any before or since.<sup>68</sup> The concerns of the Arabs,

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65. Text of the Speech Delivered by Fidel Castro, Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba to the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held in Algiers, Sept 7, 1973.

66. Benevolensky, V., n., 8, p. 45.

67. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 13, p. 93.

68. 'Political Declaration of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned countries' in United Nations Document A/9330 (Keesings Contemporary Archives 1973, p. 26117)

and the Sub Saharan Africans were brought together'.

The case of Palestine, where Zionist settler colonialism... represents a very serious threat to their survival as a nation, is exactly the same as the situation in Africa, which racist segregationist minorities .... (pursue) the requirements of a  
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single imperialist strategy.

Despite such a strong statement, the Palestine Liberation Organisation got no further than being accorded observer status, for the first time, in the 1973 Algiers summit. However, one of the resolutions called for all the Non-Aligned to break off  
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diplomatic relations with Israel.

At the Algiers Summit Conference the statements were made condemning the American bombing of North Vietnam and later welcoming the ceasefire in South Vietnam. Statements followed 'on aggressive actions against Zambia, on the situation in Cambodia, the  
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massacre in Mozambique and other issues'.

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69. Quoted by Peter Willetts, n., 3, p. 36.

70. Willetts, Peter, n., 3, p. 36.

71. Mojsov, L., 'Non-Aligned Countries in the United Nations, Review of International Affairs, Belgrade, No. 562, 5th September 1973, p. 8.

The participants in the Algiers Summit Conference reiterated the goals and principles of non-alignment formulated earlier and for the first time emphasized in their Political Declaration that "in order to undertake the international obligations in totality and to help solve the problems of our times, which concern the fate of all nations of the world, the non-aligned countries should together with all progressive forces work to change international relations on the basis of democracy<sup>72</sup> and equality of all states ... The political Declaration formalised the new aspects of the non-aligned countries' approach to the problem of detente, namely, the Conference demanded that it spread to all areas of the world and that wars still going on in Africa, South-East Asia (Kampuchia), and the Middle East (the Israeli aggression) should<sup>be</sup> stopped. According to Declaration on the struggle for National Liberation: "having exhausted all peaceful means, and faced with the tenacity of the colonial powers and the collaboration of their protectors, including members of NATO (the United States, France, United Kingdom, and Federal Republic of Germany), the oppressed nations have no resource other than armed struggle as a way of eliciting respect for their rights to self determination and independence".<sup>73</sup>

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72. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 13, p. 94.

73. Ibid., p. 109.

The Fourth Summit Conference went as far as to approve recommendations to the developing countries participating in the Non-aligned movement to set up "bodies of solidarity to defend the interests of the primary producer countries, such as the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries and the ICCEC (Inter governmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries) which are able to undertake a large scale exploitation of natural resources and to make possible greater exports and real earnings as well as the utilisation of these resources for development purposes and raising the standard of living of their people".<sup>74</sup>

Speaking at the Algiers Conference, Sirimao Bandranaike emphasized the need for concerned action by the developing world in an era in which the thrust of imperialism reappearing. She suggested for the creation of a Commercial Bank for the Third world - a bank of African, Asian and American countries to break of the monopoly of the multinational banks of the Third world<sup>75</sup> to rival the reserve currencies of the developed world.

The Algiers Conference witnessed a shift of attention from the problems of national liberation to Economic Liberation.

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74. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 13, p. 102.

75. Banarji, Malabika, "The Institutionalization of Non-Alignment as a Model in International Relations" (Ph.D thesis, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, 1979), p. 26.

It was said that without economic liberation, independence  
 could be neither complete nor stable.<sup>76</sup>

The Heads of the State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries noted in their Economic Declaration that "Imperialism is still the greatest stumbling bloc to the emancipation and advancement of developing countries ... Imperialism is not only opposed to economic and social progress of developing countries, but has also adopted an aggressive attitude towards those who stand in the way of its designs and seeks to impose political, social and economic structures which facilitate foreign domination, dependence or neo colonialism".<sup>77</sup>

Sharp criticism was levelled at the activities of transnational corporations in the developing countries. "Heads of States and Government denounce before the world public the inadmissible practice of multinational companies, which encroach upon the sovereignty of developing countries and violate the principles of non-interference and the right of nations to self-determination".<sup>78</sup>

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76. Gupta, Vijay, "Nature and Content of Tanzanian Non-Alignment", K.P. Misra, ed., Non-Alignment Frontiers and Dynamics, (Vikas, New Delhi 1982), p. 396.

77. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.s., 13, p. 99.

78. Ibid., p. 102.

The Algiers Conference paid considerable attention in its resolution on cooperation between non-aligned and the socialist countries. For instance, the Action Programme of Economic Cooperation emphasized that "the non-aligned countries are determined to encourage the development of scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries, primarily by signing inter-governmental conventions, by creating the necessary mixed committees and by institutions".<sup>79</sup>

The Algiers Conference also passed resolution on establishing the coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries because as their number grew, they increasingly experienced the need for a permanent body.

The Coordinating Bureau has to carry out the totality of the Preparatory work for the next Conference, to elaborate problems to be discussed by it, to coordinate the actions and positions of the non-aligned States, particularly at the UN, and to facilitate the implementation of resolutions passed by the preceding Conferences.<sup>80</sup>

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79. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 13, p. 107.

80. Benevolensky, V., n. 8, p. 51.



### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

The transition in the 1970s, under the impact of Soviet peace loving policy to an endorsement in international relations of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems provided broad scope for the development of the non-alignment. The process of detente and normalization of relations between US and USSR and Federal Republic of Germany, and German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of France, and successes scored in ensuring security and peaceful cooperation in Europe helped to create a healthier political climate all over the world, and made it easier for the newly free states to pursue a non-aligned policy and carry out a whole number of measures (for example, Recognition of the German Democratic Republic, revision of unequal treaties with former colonial powers), which had earlier met with fierce resistance from the West.

During the period of detente the imperialist bloc policy suffered serious set backs in developing countries, although Britain together with Australia and New Zealand, succeeded after four years of talks in forming the ANZUK military bloc in 1971<sup>81</sup> and drawing non-aligned Malaysia and Singapore into it.

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81. Khan, Alim, The Non-Aligned Movement: Achievements, Problems, Prospects, (Novosti, Moscow, 1985), p. 44.

The USSR has welcomed all Conferences and important forums of the non-aligned movement. The message sent by President and Prime Minister of Soviet Union to the Chairman of the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned countries in Algiers stated that, "in the situation now developing in the world and further activation of efforts of all countries - big and small - to establish peace in the world is an immense significance. Your Conference, too can make a weighty contribution to its humane and noble cause. All who cherish peace, security and happiness of the peoples of all peace forces strive to ensure that the favourable changes in International Relations should become irreversible and spread to embrace the whole world".

The Soviet Union welcomed the new accent on the restructuring of the global economic order, which was given by the Fourth Non-aligned Summit at Algiers in 1973. Just a few days before the commencement of this Conference, Brezhnev expressed his deep concern on the efforts being made in some quarters to separate the socialist countries from the non-aligned ones. He declared that for the USSR, the major line of division was not between "rich and poor", rather it was between "the forces of socialism, peace and progress and the forces of imperialism, colonialism and reaction". The Soviet Press termed this Conference

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82. Quoted by Attar Chand, Non-Aligned Nations: Challenges of the Eighties (Select Service, New Delhi 1983), pp. 250-51.

as a step forward and observed that "the non-aligned movement was becoming an extremely important and useful factor in world politics".<sup>83</sup> Only a couple of months after the commencement of the Algiers Conference Pravada observed that "the non-aligned movement has begun to assume an important role in world politics in the last few years".<sup>84</sup>

In another message to the Algiers Summit Conference the Soviet Government said, "the people of the Soviet Union always remember that together with the people of Asian, African and Latin American States constitute an important component of the standing army of National Liberation, progress and peace in the world. We all have achieved a lot together. And we are sure that in the future too we shall follow a parallel course."<sup>85</sup>

Just as the Soviet Union supported the demand for decolonisation and abolition of racialism and apartheid, it also supported the demand for a New International Economic Order.<sup>86</sup>

Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, and non-aligned states have been making energetic efforts to stop the arms race

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83. Orestov, O., "An Important Factor in World Politics", International Affairs, No.12(1973), pp. 55,56 and 57.

84. Pravada, 16 June 1984.

85. Quoted by Hari Jaisingh, n., 6, pp. 52-3.

86. Ibid.

and achieve disarmament. In execution of the Peace Programme, the Soviet Union put forward a proposal at the 26th General Assembly Session in 1971 on holding a world disarmament Conference that would consider all aspects of the problems, paying particular attention to the prohibition and destruction of Nuclear weapons.

The adoption by the 27th General Assembly Session in 1972 of a resolution on the use of force in International relations and a permanent ban on the use of nuclear weapons has been a major international contribution and was initiated by Soviet Union and supported by the non-aligned countries. About 130 states majority of which are the non-aligned countries, have signed a treaty as Non-Proliferations of Nuclear weapons was concluded on Soviet initiatives.<sup>87</sup>

The Socialist countries have made a great contribution to the elimination of seats of tensions and to the resolution of conflicts, including conflicts among the non-aligned countries. The Soviet Union's consistent policy of strengthening solidarity with the non-aligned countries was re-affirmed most strikingly in the conclusion of Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation with India, Egypt, Iraq, Somalia and Angola.<sup>88</sup> This treaty has played and continues to play a stabilising role in South Asia, and on

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87. Tuzmuklamedov, Rais, n., 23, pp. 27-8.

88. Attar Chand, n. 82, p. 282

the continent in general. Indo-Soviet Treaty provoked some discussion both inside and outside the country. Even some of the non-aligned countries accused India of violating the principles of Non-Alignment.<sup>89</sup>

The results of the Conference were highly welcomed by CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the world conference of peace forces on October 1973, "The decisions of non-aligned nation's Conference in Algiers, attended by leaders of many countries, are of considerable international importance. He said, "the Conference re-affirmed these countries determinations to fight purposefully against imperialism, war and aggression, and for peace and independence and freedom of nations".<sup>90</sup>

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89. Tuzmukhanedov, Rais, n., 23, pp. 27-8.

90. Arkadyev, L., "The Non-Alignment", International Affairs, (Moscow, September 1976) p. 142.

### Chapter - III

#### FIFTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The fifth Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held at Colombo (Sri Lanka), from August 10-15, 1976, the first forum to<sup>1</sup> be held in Asia. It was held in an atmosphere in which detente was the leading tendency of international development. By that time significant changes had taken place in the world. The Conference on security and cooperation in Europe had been held in Helsinki, and national liberation movements in Asia and Africa had scored a number of new major victories. US imperialism had suffered a crushing defeat in Indo-China; the national-democratic revolution had triumphed in Ethiopia, and the fascist regimes in<sup>2</sup> Portugal, Greece and Spain had collapsed.

Prior to the Colombo Conference, a Ministerial Conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries was held at Lima in August 1975. The Colombo summit conference was attended<sup>3</sup> by 82 full members and 9 observers. There were also 7 guests.

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1. Benevolensky, V., The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to Delhi, (Progress, Moscow, 1985), p. 50.
  2. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Soviet View, (Sterling, New Delhi, 1987), p. 23.
  3. Hari Daisingh, India and the Non-Aligned World: Search for a New Order, (Vikas, New Delhi, 1983), p. 17.

The Conference passed some key documents, including the political declaration, the Economic Declaration, the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation and several resolutions of specific problems.

A major accomplishment of the Colombo Conference was an extensive programme worked out by its participants on security and disarmament problems. The Conference stressed that the expenditure on armaments that has been increasing at a phenomenal rate and has now reached the staggering figure should be stopped<sup>4</sup> and "a substantial part of the resources freed by measures in the field of disarmament by the main world military powers could be used to promote the economic development of developing countries. Such measures would certainly contribute towards a bridging of the gap between developed and developing countries within the foreseeable future".<sup>5</sup>

The main problems which were discussed at Colombo Summit Conference were Apartheid in South Africa, the question of Namibia and the independence of Palestinian people. The non-aligned countries were reasonably hopeful that the liberation struggles supplemented by the pressure of sanctions and world opinions, would

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4. Benevolensky, V., n.,1, pp. 50-1

5. Two Decades of Non-Alignment-Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982, Delhi, 1983, p. 207.

see Zimbabwe and Namibia as an independent state in near future. The British Government simply has to do much more to discharge its legal obligations to bring the people of Zimbabwe to independent status.<sup>6</sup>

A tangible contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo colonialism and racism was made by the Conference resolutions on South Africa, Namibia, the non-recognition of South African bantustans, on the denunciation of racial discrimination and apartheid on the African continent (especially) apartheid in sports), on the Middle East, the question of Palestine, and so on.<sup>7</sup>

The fifth Conference reiterated the resolution on Indian ocean worked out earlier and supplemented it with new provisions, condemning the establishment, maintenance and expansion of foreign military bases, such as Diego Garcia urging the Great Powers to refrain from all activities that might interfere with the implementation of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, and called on the US to dismantle existing bases and military installations and also not to deploy nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction in that region. The non-aligned states suggested that all countries in the basin should refuse to

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6. Rishi, Jaipal, Origins, Growth and Potential for World Peace, (Allied, New Delhi, 1983), p. 10.

7. Benevolensky, V., n.d., p. 51.



grant facilities to warships and military air craft that could be used to undermine the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of states of the region in contravention of the UN charter. Finally, they expressed their consent to convene a<sup>8</sup> Conference on the Indian ocean as soon as possible and "to adopt measures for the implementation of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace".<sup>9</sup>

The Conference ... commended the Republic of Cuba and other states which assisted the people of Angola in frustrating the expansionist and colonialist strategy of South Africa's racist regime and of its allies.<sup>10</sup>

The Conference noted with satisfaction the increasing participation of Latin America in the anti-colonialist, anti imperialist struggle for full independence and sovereignty within the Non-Aligned Movement.

Declaration further states:

Latin America is one of the areas of the world that has suffered most intensely from the aggression of the colonialism, and United States Imperialism. The Conference examined, in

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8. Benevolensky, V., n., 1, pp. 51-2.

9. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 5, pp. 201-202.

10. Quoted by Banerjee, Subrata, The Non-Alignment Today: Challenges and Prospects, (Allied, New Delhi, 1985), p. 44.

particular, the situation of certain non-aligned countries in the area that are the target of pressure, coercion and intimidation. The Conference took note of the statements by the Prime Minister of Guyana and Barbados concerning attempts to destabilise their governments.

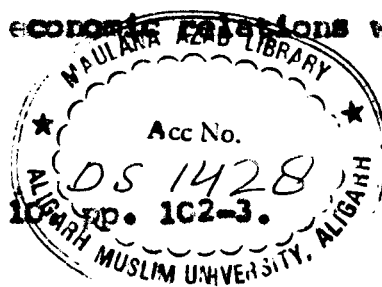
In this context the Conference also condemned threats of non aggressions, against Cuba and US imperialism and Blockade it had imposed on the country to destroy it economically".<sup>11</sup>

In connection with the situation in the Middle East the Conference reiterated previous resolutions, condemning Israeli aggression and also continued American military, economic and political aid to Israel and sharply criticised the supply of US weapons to Israel. The Conference emphasized that they would look for measures to bring pressure to bear on Israel within the framework of the UN and its specialized agencies, upto the possible expulsion of Israel from those organizations. They denounced the obstructionist stand adopted by the US at the UN Security Council and welcomed the UN decision to invite the PLO to take part in all of its sessions as the representative of Palestinian people, and called on those non-aligned countries that still maintained diplomatic and economic relations with Israel to break them.<sup>12</sup>

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11. Quoted by Banerjee, Sulrata, n., 108 pp. 102-3.

12. Benovolensky, V., n., 1, p. 52.



The Colombo summit conference issued Economic Declaration and a detailed economic programme for economic cooperation. The main aim of the programme was the cooperation among non-aligned and other developing countries in various areas like raw material, trade, monetary and financial matters, industrialization, food and agriculture etc. In this Conference 32 economic resolutions<sup>13</sup> were adopted.

The economic declaration of the Colombo summit Conference identified economic problems "as the most acute problems in International relations today". It also recognised the reality that "developing countries are the victims of this world-wide<sup>14</sup> crisis which severely affects political and economic relations".

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The economic declaration pointed to "the glaring inequalities and imbalances in the international economic structure" and the impressive growth of the payments balance deficit of the developing countries. The participants in the Conference said that their attempts to reform existing international economic relations were futile. They confirmed the right of the developing countries to full compensation for the colonialist exploitation of their natural and other resources and stressed that

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13. Rikhi, Jaipal, n., 6, p. 114.

14. Quoted by Banerjee, Subrata, n., 10, p. 63.

15. Benevolensky, V., n., 1, p. 53.

"the developing countries should use their sovereignty and their independence at the political level as a lever for the attainment of their sovereignty and independence at the economic level".<sup>16</sup>

The Colombo conference also made an important resolutions on economic cooperation between non-aligned and other developing countries, among them the decision to set up new producer's associations of raw materials and to found a special fund for the financing of buffer stocks, to work out a united position at the forthcoming UNCTAD session and the principles of international trade, to ratify the convention on the solidarity Fund for Economic and social Development, and to develop multilateral industrial cooperation.

The Colombo summit conference also decided to form the Press Agencies Pool of the Non-aligned countries and endorsed the constitution of the Press Agencies Pool. The decision was a major step taken by non-aligned countries in doing away with the Western Power's domination of the mass-media inherited from the colonial times. The pool was to ensure wide and free dissemination of objective information about the developing countries and the non-aligned movement.<sup>17</sup>

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16. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 5, p. 209.

17. Benevolensky, V., n., 1, p. 54.

This summit conference made a number of important political evaluations of the situation in the non-aligned countries with regard to the development of their mass information media. They described their backwardness as "a legacy<sup>18</sup> of their colonial past".

The Conference drew this conclusion:

"The emancipation and development of national information media is an integral part of over all struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of the peoples of the world who should not be denied the right to inform<sup>19</sup> and to be informed objectively and correctly".

The Conference further emphasized that: "a new international order in the fields of information and mass communication<sup>20</sup> is as vital as new international economic order."

#### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

The extension of the process of detente to Asia as well as to other areas of the world is considered to be one of the

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18. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhancev, Rais, n., 2, p. 133.

19. Non-Aligned Conference: Basic Documents, 1976, Addendum to Basic Documents, 1961-1975, Bandaranaike Centre of International Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1976, p. 53.

20. Ibid.

most important tasks of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The development of the process of detente has now entered a stage where the tasks of making it universal and irreversible<sup>21</sup> is increasingly coming to the fore.

The objectives of the non-aligned countries and those of the Soviet Union have been close and similar on many issues like end to the arms race, reduction of the stockpiles of arms, removal of tensions, elimination of military bases, removal of all vestiges of colonialism and racism, restraining the use of force, intervention, aggression, and political or economic pressures.<sup>22</sup>

The Soviet Union has consistently supported the movement provided substantial aid and assistance to non-aligned countries, and played a crucial role in creating an international environment conducive to the non-aligned movement. During the visit of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the USSR on June 8, 1976, Brezhnev CPSU General Secretary declared, "the Soviet Union welcomes the growing role of developing countries in world politics. In this context, we give due recognition to the positive role of non-alignment in which the Republic of India occupies an outstanding

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21. Anand, Jagjit Singh, Soviet Union in World Affairs, (Sterling, New Delhi, 1977), p. 85.

22. Hari Jaisingh, n., 3, p. 53.

place. The principles on which this movement rests - strengthening peace and peaceful co-existence, independence of states, struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism - have successfully, withstood the test of time. We wish every success to the non-aligned countries in Colombo".  
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With a view to understanding fully the consistent Soviet support to the non-aligned movement it is worthwhile to focus our attention on Soviet perception of the non-aligned movement. First of all the Soviet's view of non-alignment not simply as a matter of foreign policy pursued by a group of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America but a movement characterising a definite stage of the development, of the former colonial, semi colonial and dependent countries of the world.  
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In its external manifestation the non-aligned movement is viewed as an integral part of social forces operating at an international scale. The Soviet Union is of the view that the non-aligned movement can become a decisive force only when it draws closer to the Socialist camp as a result of weakening of the Capitalist camp.

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23. quoted by Hafar Imam, "Soviet View of Non-Alignment" Secular Democracy, (Bharendra Goyal Ikta Trust, New Delhi) Vol. 9, (14-15) August 1970, p. 191.

24. Ibid.

In concrete terms, the non-aligned movement in its external manifestations essentially means to the Soviets non-adherence to military blocs and pacts, struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations and a positive stand in favour of economic independence and peaceful coexistence and reduction of tensions. The concrete objectives of the policy of non-alignment are, the Soviets believe possible aspects, in accord with the foreign policy objectives the Socialist States, in general and the Soviet Union in particular. This simply explains why the Soviets lay particular emphasis on foreign policy postures of non-aligned countries as a rule, and unhesitatingly land them.

The realization of the positive objectives of the non-alignment movement appears to be well nigh impossible under the conditions of domination and alliance with capitalist powers, while a closer cooperation with the Socialist camp, the Soviet Union in particular, will ensure it. Hence the impact of Soviet aid and diplomatic support to the developing countries, especially the non-aligned ones, is to be crucial and decisive in the long run, while in the short run, it is manifested on promoting political stability and in generating self sufficiency and economic independence.



The policy of non-alignment is viewed in the Soviet Union as a policy suited to the needs and aspirations of the ruling class of the developing countries, most of the developing countries are ruled by national bourgeoisie whose aspirations of economic and political independence and abolition of foreign monopoly domination come in clash with imperialism. Thus the national bourgeoisie of the developing countries are drawn towards non-alignment by the clash of their economic and political interests with imperialisms, their reluctance to be involved in a conflict between the two world Socio-economic systems and by their willingness to develop economic cooperation with Socialist countries.

Soviets today, unlike in the sixties, no longer regard non-alignment as one uniform movement directed at achieving well defined common goals, always acting in consort. Welcoming the increasing role of the developing countries in the world affairs, Brezhnev told the 25th congress of the CPSU (February 1976) 25

"The Soviet Union's attitude to the complex processes inside the developing countries is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other

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25. Lafar Imam, n, 23, pp. 191-93.

countries and peoples .... But we don't conceal our views ...  
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 and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle".

Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary in his message to non-aligned summit held in Colombo in 1976 once again emphasized the need to support the cause of the people of the third world.  
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In other message to Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference, Brezhnev said:

"May I ask you to convey the wishes of success to participants in the Fifth Conference of the Non-Aligned countries, an important international forum, which is to discuss many outstanding problems of our time. This meeting is taking place at a time when the forces of peace and national liberation are winning over new victories, when the relaxation of tension has become a leading tendency of international development, and the principles of peaceful coexistence are asserting themselves as norms of relationships between states and different social systems".

"The people of Laos and Kampuchea have won freedom. The people of Angola successfully rebelled the onslaught of the

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26. Twenty Fifth CPSU Congress Report of the CPSU Central Committee Soviet Review, (New Delhi), No. 10-11, 1976, p.1.

27. quoted by Veena Soni, "Non-aligned and Socialist Bloc" ed. M.K. Saini, Aspects on Non-Alignment, (Kalamkar, New Delhi, 1983), p. 69.

United forces of imperialism, racism and their accomplices. The Soviet Union, as was repeatedly stressed in the most important documents of the CPSU, assesses the anti imperialist anti-colonialist and anti racist orientation of the non-aligned movement and its contribution to stronger general peace and international security, to the struggle for promoting the independence and progress of liberated countries".<sup>28</sup>

Soviet Union firmly safeguards the political and economic independence of Angola, Mozambique and other countries of the Africa and South Africa in their fight against South African racist regime. The Soviet Union is also firm on its support for the Palestinian people's struggle for their legitimate rights and calls for a just settlement in the middle East. Proceeding from its principled stand, the USSR continues to help the Arab peoples, the victims of Israeli aggression.<sup>29</sup>

Economic assistance to the non-aligned countries is a major component of Soviet Foreign Policy and it is meant to strengthen the economic independence of the non-aligned countries. Soviet assistance to India has become a model of cooperation between countries with two different political systems.<sup>30</sup>

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28. Quoted by Attar Chand, Non-Aligned Nations, Arms Race and Disarmament (UIH, New Delhi, 1983), pp. 345-46.

29. Saxena, Munish, N., Non-Aligned Movement in the Eighties, (Novosti, Moscow, 1982), p. 50.

30. Hari Jaisingh, n., 3, p. 53.

The active support for the developing countries' struggle for the restructuring of international economic relations is another key element of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, "It is quite clear now", the 25th CPSU congress pointed out, "that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktat and achieve just - that is, equal - economic relations".

As it has been repeatedly emphasized in important documents of the CPSU, the Soviet Union highly values the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-racist orientations of the non-aligned movement (and) its role in the strengthening of peace and international security, in the struggle for independence, and (in the) progress of liberated countries.

However, it is not enough to look at non-alignment in terms of its role in International affairs or from the point of views of its congruity with Soviet foreign policy objectives. Much more is involved here. Non-alignment is viewed as linked inseparably with socio, economic formation of countries of the

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31. Benavolensky, V., n., 1, p. 119.

32. Documents and Resolutions XXV Congress of the CPSU, (Novosti, Moscow, 1976), p. 16.

33. Tuzmukamedov, R.A., ed., Dvizhenie Nieprisodineniie V Dokumentakh 1, Materialakh (Moscow, 1979), p. 299.

third world, as it reflects a definite state in the process of  
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 their socio-economic development.

In the beginning of 1970s various trends in the non-alignment had started imprinting their mark on the movement. These trends can broadly be identified. The first is to emphasize the community of interests between the non-aligned countries and socialist countries, or what may be termed "non-alignment plus", i.e. closer cooperation between the non-aligned countries and the socialist countries as against imperialism, capitalism (Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iraq, Vietnam, etc. for instance). The Soviet trend is to stress the need for equidistance between the two super powers. This entails closer relations between the non-aligned countries and imperialist - capitalist states, USA in particular, in accordance with their national needs of the time. (Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, etc., for instance). Finally there is trend seeking to bring the collective influence of non-aligned movement to bear on such crucial issues of the time as the New International Economic Order, regional stability and detente (Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Yugoslavia, etc., for instance).

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34. Asafar Imam, "Soviet Views of Non-Alignment", K.P. Misra, ed., Non-Alignment Frontiers and Dynamics, (Vikas, New Delhi, 1982), p. 453.

In the mid 1970s, the Soviet Union adopted a discerning attitude towards non-aligned countries. This is clear from the Soviet policies in Angola, in the Somali, Ethiopian conflict.<sup>35</sup>

The 21st summit conference emphasized the independent role of the NAM, for the Soviets - in contrast to previous conferences - the emphasis was on the anti-Western character of the approaching conference. This was apparent during the preparatory phase.<sup>36</sup> "There is no doubt whatsoever the Fifth Conference... will be of further help in uniting the Non-aligned Movement and intensifying its progressive, anti-imperialist tenor. This will inevitably bring the Non-Aligned Movement and Socialist Community even closer together.<sup>37</sup> Soviet news coverage did not fail to take this new position into account. Reports of the Conference emphasized the sharpness of the discussions at the Conference but pointed out that the progressive position was able to gain the upper hand, thereby thwarting the attempts of Beijing and Washington to divide the movement.<sup>38</sup> "The forum in

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35. Hafar Imam, n., 34, pp. 462-63.

36. Fritzsche, Klaus, "The Non-Aligned Movement in Soviet Perspective", The Non-Aligned World (Central News Agency, New Delhi, Vol. II, No. 3, July-Sept 84), p. 374.

37. Kondarevsky, G. and Solinsky, V., "The Non-Aligned Movement and International Relations", International Affairs, Moscow, no. 7, 1976, p. 58.

38. Fritzsche, Klaus, n., 36, p. 374.

Columbo by and large demonstrated that (the movement) has clearly recognized the major global problems and ... and drawn important and far-reaching conclusions from them".<sup>39</sup>

The Soviet Union has always actively opposed imperialist aggression in the Middle East, rendering political, economic and diplomatic support to the movement's members, such as Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Palestine Liberation Organization. It opposed a concrete programme of easing tensions in the region, demanded that foreign troops be withdrawn from Jordan and Lebanon, and so on. Of tremendous importance was and continues to be the support given by the Soviet Union and other Socialist States to the People's Republic of Angola and Ethiopia defending their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity against the encroachments by the forces of imperialism, racism and internal reaction.<sup>40</sup>

#### SIXTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The sixth summit conference of Non-Aligned countries was held in Havana (Cuba) from September 3-9, 1978. Havana summit<sup>41</sup>

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39. Leunemann, P., "Zum Politischen Kurs der Bewegung der Nichtblockgebundenheit", Probleme des Friedens und des Sozialismus, no. 11 (1976), p. 1501.

40. Fenevolsky, V., n., 1, pp. 113-14.

41. ILIC, p. 54.

conference was preceded by a series of meetings. An extraordinary meeting of Foreign Ministers and UN representatives of 34 non-aligned nations was held in New York. This was followed by another Ministerial Conference which was held in July 1973 and attended by 55 non-aligned countries. Subsequently, two more such meetings were held to make final arrangement for the sixth summit conference and finally Havana summit conference was held and attended by 92 countries, 20 observers and 19 guests.<sup>42</sup>

By this time the new cold war had already begun. In 1975 the USA had unilaterally called off the talks with the Soviet Union on the demilitarisation of the Indian ocean. At the same time the liberation movements had also achieved significant victories, Panama had re-established its control over the canal zone. The OAS and SEATO military alliances had been dismantled. At the same time the understanding between USA and China had created a new flashpoint in South east Asia, with the indomitable peoples of Indo China as the target, this time with China on the offensive. The problems of Southern Africa and the middle east continued to be matters of serious concern. The Havana Summit Conference met under the shadow of the Camp David agreement and Arab-Israeli treaty of March 1979, which had split Arab unity and caused a great deal of harm to the struggle for an independent homeland for Palestinians.<sup>43</sup>

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42. Sri Saisingh, n. , 2, p. 17.

43. Benarje, Sukrata, n., 10, p. 103-4.



Speaking at the Conference's opening ceremony Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi drew attention to the dangerous exacerbation of the international situation and appealed to the non-aligned countries to step up their efforts to ease tensions in the world. The non-aligned movement had been always an important factor in strengthening peace, peaceful co-existence and detente.

While analysing the International situation the Havana Conference took note of the positive development.

"Significant results have been achieved in the resolute struggle of national liberation movements, particularly in Southern Africa as well as in other dependent and occupied territories; strengthening of the solidarity of the non-aligned countries with the just struggle of Palestine people to exercise their inalienable national rights to repatriation, self-determination and independence including their right to a state of their own, and of Arab countries to recover all occupied territories; firm support of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; victory of the peoples of Panama in the struggle for their sovereignty over the Panama canal zone; the welcome development

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44. Pavlov, A., "The Non-Aligned Movement and the Struggle against Imperialism", International Affairs, Moscow, 1981 (4), p. 78.

of the dismantling of the NATO and CENTO military alliance as an inevitable outcome of the positive trend in international relations; the fruitful efforts of countries of the South Asian sub-region which are all now the members of Non-Alignment Movement; towards increasing cooperation among themselves and contributing positively to peace and stability in the area. <sup>45</sup>

Final documents adopted by the Conference on Middle East said that the Camp David Agreements "mean total abandonment of the cause of the Arab countries and an act of complicity with the continued occupation of the Arab territories and violate the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine". <sup>46</sup> The participants in the meeting condemned the Camp David Agreements and the Treaty between Egypt and Israel and considered the proposals by some Arab states "that the Government of Egypt be suspended as a member of the Movement of Non-aligned countries for having violated its principles and resolutions". <sup>47</sup>

The Conference congratulated the Organisation of African Unity for its accomplishment in the sixteen years of its existence and recognised the importance of the organisation of the African unity as an effective instrument of promoting peace, security and

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45. Quoted in Ramamurthy, K. and Srivastava, Govind Narain, INDIA TODAY (New Delhi, 1985), p. 62.

46. Two Faces of Non-Alignment, L.S. p. 414.

47. Ibid.

good relations among its member states.

The Conference concluded that the Southern Africa is one of the focal points of tension in international relations and the centre of confrontation between the imperialist forces of aggression and the forces of liberation, progress, progress, peace.

In view of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia - with imperialist support - and its schemes to invade and hamper the revisions of the international community demanding the immediate unconditional withdrawal of South African colonial administration and its occupation troops, the conference called on all countries, especially on all progressive and peace loving forces, to immediately increase their material, military and financially support to South East Africa People's organization (SEAPO).

The Conference condemned the Western Powers who were allied with South Africa that supply the racist regime with war materials and support in various fields, enabling it to the persist in its illegal occupation of Namibia in open defiance of the authority of United Nations.<sup>48</sup> Emphasis was placed on the need to show greater solidarity and give more aid to the "Frontline States" of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.<sup>49</sup>

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48. quoted in Ramamurthy, K. and Srivastava, Govind Narain, n., 45, pp. 64-5.

49. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 412.

The participants in the Havana Summit resolutely opposed the decision by the US, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, Belgium, Italy, Canada, Australia and Israel of the racist regimes and called them accomplices in the crimes perpetrated by the latter. The conference also supported the just demand by Argentina for the return of the Falklands (Malvinas) to it.<sup>50</sup>

The Conference welcomed the victory of the People of Nicaragua over Somoza dictatorship and spoke highly of the efforts made by the governments of many Latin American states, including Cuba, Mexico, Bolivia and Colombia, to ensure the just solution to the Nicaraguan problem. Censure was also passed on expanded and stronger ties between Israel and some Latin American countries, including Guatemala and El-Salvador, which<sup>51</sup> "in practice constitutes support for the Zionist state's expansionist and aggressive policy".<sup>52</sup>

Discussion of political climate in South Asia centered on the representation of Kampuchea at the Conference. Some delegates condemned the POL POT regime for its monstrous genocide but nevertheless deemed it possible to let its representatives attend the Conference. Another group of countries Cuba, Angola,

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50. *Renewal*, V., n., 1, p. 58.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 59

52. *The Decades of Lon-Alum*, n. 5, p. 421.

Mozambique, Madagascar, Benin, Libya and Syria, resolutely denounced the overthrown POL POT regime and declared that the Government of People's of Republic of Kampuchea could be the only legitimate representative of Kampuchian people.

In a bid to bridge the gap between the different points of view, Sri Lanka suggested the solution of the problem be postponed till the next conference. As a result of protracted deliberations it was decided to leave Kampuchea's seat vacant and to entrust a committee set up specially for the purpose to prepare suggestions on the problems.

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The Conference also discussed about the Human Rights and People's right. The Declaration of Havana Conference on Human Rights and Rights of people assumes special importance in that context. The Conference considered that the following steps were essential for the full realisation of human rights:

- (a) All human Rights and fundamental freedom are inalienable, indivisible and interdependent; equal and urgent consideration should be given both to civil rights and political economic and cultural rights.
- (b) The right to development and to equal opportunity to obtain it, which is prerogative both of nations and individuals who constitute them.

- (c) The absolute necessity under all circumstances to eliminate and flagrant violations of human rights and of the rights of the people and individuals.
- (d) The establishment of New International Economic Order (NIEO) for effective promotion of human rights and fundamental freedom, and
- (e) The necessity to examine the question of human rights as a whole, keeping in mind the general context of various societies in which they exist and the need to promote the full dignity of human beings and the development and well being of society.<sup>54</sup>

The conference called on all states to cooperate in implementing the resolution on making the Mediterranean zone of peace and also all UN resolutions with the aim of eliminating the causes for tensions existing in the region. The Conference welcomed Malta's decision to dismantle foreign military bases on its territory.<sup>55</sup>

The Conference resolutions, in particular its Economic Declaration and also Action Programme of Economic Cooperation and some additional resolutions, specified the programme struggle for the establishment of New International Economic Order. It

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54. Quoted by Ramesh Murthy, K. and Srivastava, Govind Narain, n., 45, pp. 66-7.

55. Lenevolensky, V., n., 1, p. 61.

included the exercise by the developing countries of full and effective sovereignty and control over their natural and other resources and economic activity, fixing prices on raw material commodities and semi-manufactured goods, and control over foreign capital and the activities of the transnational corporations.<sup>56</sup>

The Heads of State and Government reviewed the implementation of the Action Programme of Economic Cooperation and expressed concern over the insufficient progress made in attaining its goal and mapped out some additional measures to promote cooperation.

As far as the results of the Havana Conference of Non-Aligned Countries are concerned, the progressive forces can be credited with succeeding despite the manoeuvres of the enemies of the movement, in maintaining its anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and anti racist tendencies. The Conference was on the whole keynoted by the struggle of the developing countries for their economic independence, peace, detente, the ending of the arms race and for disarmament.<sup>57</sup>

#### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

It is an indisputable fact that the non-aligned countries have common or similar interests and that cooperation with the Soviet Union and socialist communists is vital to them. In

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56. The Decades of Non-Alignment, n., 5, p. 435.

57. Benevolensky, V., n., 1, pp. 63-4.

upholding its own interests, the non-aligned movement inevitably joins efforts with the other anti-imperialist forces of the world in a struggle for peace and cooperation, against the armies of imperialism. World developments and the activities of international organizations clearly shows that solidarity of the non-aligned and socialist countries particularly Soviet Union ensure success in curbing the ambitions of the imperialist powers and monopolies,<sup>58</sup> which are bent on world domination and plunder.

The Soviet Union extended and supported to the efforts of the third world to attain and consolidate political independence and to build a self reliant economy. The efforts of erstwhile colonial powers were to keep these countries under the fold through subtle methods of economic domination. In this tug of war the non-aligned world found a dependable ally in the form of socialist<sup>59</sup> world in general and USSR in particular.

Khrushchev in his message of Greetings to Havana Conference:

The Soviet Union comes out consistently for deepening the process of relaxation of international tension, for spreading detente to all regions of the world, for supplementing it with an easing of tension, in the military sphere; for transition to real disarmament measures. The

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58. Hari Jaisingh, n., 3, pp. 74-5.

59. Veena Soni, "Non-Alignment and Socialist Block", (ed.) M.N. Saini, Aspects on Non-Alignment, (Kalamkar, New Delhi 1980), P. 71.



Soviet Union is against the division of world into military political blocs opposed to each other ... we support the struggle of developing countries for restructuring international economic relations on the basis of equality and justice, ruling out any discrimination. The Soviet Union resolutely upholds the right of the peoples to use their wealth at their own discretion and to effect social and economic transformations that meet their interests and strengthen the sovereignty and independence of the young states, which have gained freedom.

During the summit period, cooperation between the socialist and non-aligned countries was increasingly turning into a factor of peace and easing tensions in international relations. In our opinion, important documents designed to strengthen international security were adopted thanks to the activities by the non-aligned states of many international conferences and at the United Nations. Active Soviet efforts to ensure peace and the security of all nations enjoy support among the non-aligned countries. They ensured the adoption by the UN of a number of resolutions on some burning problems, such as the strengthening of world peace and security, disarmament, the prevention of aggression, the curbing of the arms race, and the struggle

against colonialism and racism. At the 34th UN General Assembly session (1979) the developing countries backed the resolution "on the inadmissibility of the policy of Hegemonism in International Relations" which had been proposed by the Soviet Union.<sup>61</sup>

Soviet Union has openly denounced concepts of equidistance between socialist and imperialist capitalist camps. They also reiterated more and more insistently the close relationship between the non-aligned movement and socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union. An example of this emerging policy is available in Soviet Union championing Kampuchea for the membership of the non-aligned movement at sixth non-aligned Conference held in Havana 1979.<sup>62</sup>

In their struggle against imperialism and for the right to conduct a policy of non-alignment, the newly free states directly or indirectly rely on the support of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community, which have the necessary military and economic strength and side with the national liberation revolution and the non-aligned movement.

Of course, solidarity of the socialist and non-aligned countries would not be so firm if only one side were interested in it. The non-aligned countries have need of such solidarity,

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61. Bencvolensky, V., n., 1, pp. 114-18.

62. Tass Dispatch on the Proceedings of Havana Conference in Pravda, 4 September 1980.

while cooperation with the non-aligned movement and support of that movement are important, for instance, to the USSR. Mutual support of the community and the non-aligned movement provides a reliable basis for the successful solution of the fundamental problems of our time, and in the interests of both sides.

The Soviet Union regards the non-aligned movement as key factor of present day international relations and welcomes the role and activity of the non-aligned movement in world politics. It stated repeatedly that it is impossible to lessen tensions in all regions of the globe and to settle international problems peacefully without the participation of all states including non-aligned nations, on an equal basis.

In summing up, the most important feature of the Havana Conference was that, for all the important and reactionary scheming, it bore out the fact that the numerous non-aligned nations have common interests and aims, kept up and fortified the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity in the non-aligned movement. As a result of Havana Conference, this movement has received yet another impetus for intensifying its activities in the battle for peace and disarmament, for the national liberation movement and social emancipation of peoples, and the fight against

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63. Khan, Alim, The Non-Aligned Movement: Achievements, Problems, Prospects (Izvesti, Moscow, 1985), pp. 75-77.

64. Benevolensky, V., n., 1, p. 8.

the imperialist policies of aggression and exploitation. The world progressive public welcomes and supports the results achieved in Havana, which were also met with satisfaction by the Soviet people, who evaluate them as a new and weighty contribution to strengthening peace and international security, to the struggle against imperialism and international security, to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, apartheid, for consolidation of political and economic independence of the newly free countries.<sup>65</sup>

The results of Havana summit were viewed by the Soviets as immense success, especially because in a number of issues strong anti-western positions were taken. In addition, it was assumed that Castro's election to the Chairman of the movement would create more favourable possibilities for the Soviets.<sup>66</sup>

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65. Artemiyev, Pavel, and Klimov, A., "The Havana Summit Retrospective", International Affairs, No. 12, Moscow, 1979, p. 32.

66. Fritzsche, Klaus, n., 36, p. 374.

CHAPTER - IVSEVENTH NON-ALIGNED SUMMITCONFERENCE

The seventh Non-Aligned Summit Conference of Heads of State and Governments was held in New Delhi, March 7 to 12, 1983.<sup>1</sup> This summit conference was attended by 101 member countries, 19 observers and 26<sup>2</sup> as a guest representatives. The Conference gathered in a grave international tension when US led forces of imperialism launched an unprecedented build up of armaments, particularly nuclear ones. The imperialists were stepping up their military, political and economic expansion in the developing countries, and were proclaiming vast geographical areas. They were expanding and modernising old military bases and building new ones on foreign territories.

New Delhi Summit Conference of Non-Aligned countries was preceded by meetings of experts and later on foreign ministers, who among other things, discussed Kampuchia's representation at the New Delhi Conference and in the Non-aligned Movement. At the ministerial level conference there was no consensus among the forum participants on the representation of the people's

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1. Rumyantsev, E., "Seventh Summit Conference", International Affairs, (Moscow, June 1983), p. 19.
  2. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Soviet View, (Sterling, Moscow, 1987), p. 26.

Republic of Kampuchea in the non-aligned movement. They reaffirmed the Havana decisions of 1979 conference to leave the seat vacant and to transfer the matter of Kampuchea's representation to Movement's coordinative Bureau, authorizing it to the Summit recommendations on the subject in 1985.<sup>3</sup>

In New Delhi Summit Conference the following agenda was discussed:

- Intensification of measures to combat colonial domination and foreign occupation, apartheid, racial discrimination and to provide effective support for national liberation movements.
- Non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of the State.
- Peaceful settlement of disputes between the non-aligned countries.
- Disarmament and its implication for international security, economic and social development and the assessment of the results of 1982 special session of UN General Assembly devoted to disarmament.
- Over all assessment of world economic situation and international economic reactions and positions of the developing countries in the world economy.

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3. Rumyantsev, E., n., 1, p. 20.

- Global negotiations with the United Nations System.
- United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.
- To decide the date and venue of the next Non-Aligned Summit Conference.
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- Composing Coordinating Bureau.

New Delhi Conference was the most representative one in the history of non-aligned movement. Problems of the struggle for peace, security, putting an end to the arms race and for disarmament were pivotal in its work and characteristically enough were viewed in close relationship with all other problems facing the non-aligned countries at that time.<sup>5</sup>

Addressing the seventh conference of Non-Aligned countries in 1983 Mrs. Gandhi emphasized that Non-Alignment is national independence and freedom and it stands for peace and avoidance of confrontation.<sup>6</sup>

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4. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries. Final Documents. (New Delhi March 1983), pp. 185-87.
  5. Benevolensky, V., The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to New Delhi. (Progress, Moscow, 1985), p. 64.
  6. Seventh NAM Summit, Selected Documents. Vol. 11, Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1984, p. 3.

In her most authoritative statement about the principles of Non-Aligned Movement Mrs. Gandhi said, "Let us ... reaffirm of our unceasing faith in five principles which are the foundations of non-aligned movement, namely sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence".<sup>7</sup>

In other speech India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement for the next three years emphasized the need and importance of the five principles of peaceful coexistence said: "that today the alternative to peaceful coexistence is the end of the coexistence".<sup>8</sup>

The New Delhi Message, the Political and Economic Declarations, and resolutions on specific problems adopted by the Conference pointed out that today's tendencies in international relations were extremely dangerous for international peace and security of Non-Aligned countries.<sup>9</sup>

The Heads of State and Governments re-affirmed inalienable rights of the people of Namibia to self determination and to the national independence of a United Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin island and other adjacent off shore islands in accordance with the resolutions of the

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7. Seventh NAM Summit, Selected Documents, n., 6., p. 9.

8. The Times of India, March 17, 1983.

9. Review of International Affairs, Belgrade, No. 792, April 1, 1983, p. 20.



United Nations, the non-aligned countries and the organization of African, Unity. They reiterated the solidarity with the Namibian people and their support for the heroic struggle waged under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of Namibian people for the liberation of their territory and for the establishment of an independent state of Namibia based on the principles of equality, freedom and justice.<sup>10</sup> The Conference strongly condemned the racist regime of oppression and discrimination against the overwhelming majority<sup>11</sup> of the population of the South Africa.

The New Delhi Conference noted with great concern the increased acts of military, political and economic destabilization perpetrated by the South African racist regime against the independent neighbouring states of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana. The Conference considered the occupation of Angolan territory as an act of aggression against the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory and decided to increase support for and solidarity with the people and Government of Angola in order to consolidate Angola's national independence, and safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity.<sup>12</sup>

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10. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned countries, n., 4, p. 15.

11. Ibid., p. 18.

12. Ibid., p. 21.

The participants in the Delhi Conference came out in support of the legitimate and inalienable right of Palestine people to a national sovereign state of their own and censured  
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 Israel's aggression against Lebanon.

The Conference reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to continue their endeavour towards the attainment of the objectives embodied in the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace and as considered at the Meeting of Littoral and Hinterland States. ~~It reiterated its conviction that the presence in the Indian ocean area of any manifestation of great power military presence, foreign bases, military installations and logistical supply facilities, nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction conceived in the context of great powers rivalries, constitute a flagrant violation of the Indian ocean as a zone of peace. These activities endangered the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of the States in the area.~~

The Non-Aligned countries are determined to work for the success of the Conference on the Indian ocean to be held in Sri Lanka in 1984. They urged the United Nations Adhoc Committee

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13. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, pp. 67-8.

to complete its preparations for the Conference strictly in  
<sup>14</sup>  
 accordance with its mandate.

The Heads of State and Government of non-aligned countries unanimously supported the Declarations of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace and expressed their full support for the Mauritian sovereignty over the Chagosarchipelago, including Diego Garcia which was detached from the territory of Mauritius by Britain in 1965. The Conference thought that establishment and strengthening of the military base at Diego Garcia has endangered the sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful development of Mauritius and other states. They called for the early return of Diego Garcia  
<sup>15</sup>  
 to Mauritius and other states.

The Conference categorically condemned the outrageous Israel aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations devoted to peaceful purposes as an act of state terrorism and "an unprecedented act of aggression" whereby a nuclear reactor came  
<sup>16</sup>  
 under armed attack for the first time in history.

political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Non-Aligned countries emphasized that "nuclear weapons are more than weapons of war. They are instruments of mass destruction. The Heads of State or Government therefore found it unacceptable that

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14. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, n., 4, pp. 25-6.

15. Ibid., p. 20.

16. Ibid., p. 40.

the security of all states and very survival of mankind should be held hostage to the security interests of a handful of nuclear weapon states ... They rejected all theories and concepts pertaining to the possession of nuclear weapons and their use under any circumstances.<sup>17</sup>

The Heads of states and Government expressed concern over growing number of disputes and conflicts between the members of the non-aligned movement. These conflicts, which claims the toll of thousands of people, cause enormous material damage to the economies of these countries and jeopardise peace and progress as well as the unity and solidarity of non-aligned countries. They urged that all disputes should be solved exclusively by peaceful means, in accordance with the purposes, principles and provisions of the UN Charter and the principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement.<sup>18</sup>

The political Declaration expressed the concern of the participants in the Conference over the situation in the Afghanistan and reiterated the resolution of the Delhi ministerial meeting (Feb, 1981) on the political settlement of the problem. The conferees supported the constructive steps taken in this respect by UN Secretary General and called on all states to exercise

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17. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, n., 4, p. 9.

18. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, pp. 70-1.

restraint and to take such steps as would lead to the creation of<sup>19</sup>  
 "conditions conducive to stable and harmonious relations among  
 the states of the region".<sup>20</sup>

The final documents of the Seventh non-aligned summit Conference contained a unanimous protest against the acts of aggression against the people of Nicaragua, interference in the internal affairs of the EL-Salvador, Surinam and Belize, condemned the economic blockade of Cuba by the US and criticised the US refusal to abide by its agreement with Panama's Government. The Falklands crisis served as an unforgettable lesson for the Latin American peoples, revealing as never before the true face of<sup>21</sup>  
 American imperialism. They passed resolutions in which they expressed their solidarity with all peoples of Latin American fighting for their independence. It was reiterated that respect<sup>22</sup>  
 for "the right of any state to freely choose its own political,  
 social and economic system",<sup>23</sup> was of paramount importance to the  
 political solution of international problems.<sup>24</sup>

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19. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, p. 71.

20. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, n., 4, p. 31.

21. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, pp. 68-9.

22. Ibid., p. 69.

23. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, n., 4, p. 35.

24. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, p. 69.

The Delhi Conference paid much attention to international economic problems. The Delhi message stated that the main reasons behind inequality and exploitation are neocolonialism and imperialism.<sup>25</sup>

Heads of State or Governments reviewed the worsening of the world situation since the sixth summit conference. The crisis of international economic relations and the widening gap between developing and developed countries have emerged as the most serious problems and a source of instability threatening world peace and security.<sup>26</sup> The Heads of State or Government reiterated the principles and objectives on international economic relations approved by non-aligned countries and in that context they reaffirmed their commitment to stimulate the process of international economic negotiations for the establishment of New International Economic Order. They urged that the problems of the developed countries, particularly in the areas of trade, money and finance, should not be solved at the expense of developing countries. Any attempt by the developed countries to do so would not aid world economic recovery and would greatly undermine international economic cooperation. They stated that any negotiation between developed and developing countries aimed at solving existing problems in international economic relation

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25. Indian and Foreign Review, Vol. 20, no. 11, Delhi, March 15-31, 1983, p. 21.

26. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government, of Non-Aligned Countries, n. 4, p. 61.

should be universal in character and should be held within the  
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 United Nations system.

### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

The Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries have common or similar interests that is why the cooperation between the non-aligned countries and the Soviet Union was in the mutual interests of both. The Soviet Union on 80 out of 100 occasions has supported the peace and disarmament and complete decolonization than that of United States at the 38th session of the UN General Assembly. It shows that the non-aligned countries and Soviet Union are historically united in their anti imperialist struggle, regardless of their differences on some issues.

World developments and activities of international organizations clearly show that solidarity of the non-aligned and Soviet Union ensure success in curbing the ambitions of the imperialist powers and monopolies, which are bent on world domination and plunder. In their struggle against imperialism and for the right to conduct a policy of non-alignment, the newly free states directly or indirectly rely for support on the Soviet Union and the whole Socialist community, which have the necessary military and economic strength and side with the

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27. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, n.,4, pp. 93-4.

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National liberation Movement and non-aligned movement.

By the early 1980s, the Soviet Union had helped and built, 1700 industrial enterprises, electric power plants, hydropower complexes and other economic projects in newly free states. An industrial projects built with the help of the Soviet Union were put into operation, the public sector began taking shape in some of the non-aligned states, promoting<sup>29</sup> their economic development and industrialisation. With every passing year the Socialist countries are giving ever wider aid to young states in Training their national personnel for industry,<sup>30</sup> agriculture, transport, health, service, education and so on.

The Soviet Union supported the proposal of the non-aligned countries for convening a special UN General Assembly session on disarmament which they advanced at a time when the realisation of the Soviet initiative was resisted by two nuclear powers (USA and China).

Nikolai Tikhonov, Member of Political Bureau of the CPSU Central committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in Kremlin on August 5, 1982 a delegation of Foreign Minister's Committee of Non-aligned States on Palestine issue including Cuban Foreign Minister Isidor Malmierca, Foreign Minister

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28. Alim Khan, The Non-Aligned Movement: Achievements, Problems, Prospects, Novosti, Moscow, 1985, pp. 74-5.

29. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, pp. 116-17.

30. Ibid.



Committee of Non-aligned States on Palestine issue including Cuban Foreign Minister Isidor Malmierca, Foreign Minister of Nicaragua Miguel D' Escoto, the Minister of other member countries of the committee were represented respectively by the Ambassador of Guyana to the USSR, the Ambassador of Senegal to the USSR, Ambassador of Sri Lanka, France and Charged 'Affairs of Yugoslavia to the USSR.

The delegation informed the members of Political Bureau of the CPSU Central committee about the stand of the non-aligned movement in connection with the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and Palestinian people and the decisions passed on that issue at the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was held in Nicosia. On behalf of all non-aligned states, delegation expressed profound concern over the dangerous situation, which emerged in the Middle East in connection with Israel's barbaric aggression, and strongly condemned the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, the complicity of the United States which made that aggression possible. The Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement deemed it necessary to take urgent practical measures to put an end to the Israeli aggression and to stop genocide against the Palestinian people. The Non-aligned movement knows well and highly appreciates the stand of the Soviet Union, which was spelled out in the statements by the Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, who insisted that the Israel's barbaric aggression against Lebanon and the

Palestinian people must be urgently terminated and aggressor's troops be immediately withdrawn from Lebanon's territory.<sup>31</sup>

Tikhonov said that the events in Lebanon are in the focus of the Soviet leadership's attention, which is also seen from Brezhnev's answers to the question of the newspaper *Pravda* and his message to the President of the United States. The Soviet Union firmly declares that the blockade of West Beirut is to be lifted. It was also stressed that Soviet Union will further give aid and support to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and all those who are resisting aggressor. All these barbaric actions against Lebanese and Palestinian people have not only sharply aggravated tensions in Middle East, but also jeopardise international security. The responsibilities for these actions lies not only on Israel but also on United States which are the aggressors, providing military assistance and also providing political cover for the actions.<sup>32</sup>

Tikhonov again emphasised that the Middle East problems can be resolved by the efforts of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. For its part the Soviet Union is doing all will continue doing everything in its

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31. Attar Chand, Non-Aligned Nations: Challenges of the Eighties, Select book Service Syndicate, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 259-60.

32. Ibid., p. 260.

power so that a just and lasting peace be established in that area. In this connection, the attention of representatives of non-aligned countries was drawn to the proposal, which was earlier put forward by the Soviet Union, on the convocation of  
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an international conference on the Middle East.

Soviet Union in an authorisative commentary issued on the eve of the 21st anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement on September 1, 1982 expressed solidarity with the national liberation movements and voiced the hope that the "non-aligned countries will show political maturity and wisdom which is necessary for upholding their unity on the firm platform of the joint struggle against imperialism and colonialism, aggression and war for  
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peace, freedom and progress of the peoples.

In 1983, the Warsaw Treaty states proposed to the NATO members to conclude a treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and Maintenance of relations of peace in the interests of preserving universal peace and security of nations, including the non-aligned countries. Thereupon the Soviet Union brought for the consideration by the 38th UN General Assembly session (1983) another important issue - "Freezing Nuclear Armaments" - and proposed that declaration on "condemning Nuclear war" be

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33. Attar Chand, n., 3, p. 260.

34. Tribune, 2 September 1982.

adopted. These Soviet proposals were accepted by the world  
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 community.

The Military intervention in Afghanistan demonstrated clearly Soviet Union's long term objectives in the third world including non-aligned countries. It shows to what extent the Soviet Union long term objective prepared to go to support National Liberation Movement in pursuit of its goal of a world revolution. In Soviet views, these steps were calculated to assist the forces of national liberation. Apart from the legalities involved (the Soviet claims are in accordance with the Afghanistan and Soviet Friendship Treaty). Soviet actions have convincingly demonstrated its commitment to protect socialism, wherever it is  
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 in danger by any means including military intervention.

As a result of its experiences since 1961, Soviet interests immediately prior to, and during the Seventh Summit Centered on two lines of actions: intensifying criticism of the West and preventing the adoption of positions to which the Soviets could not agree. Accordingly, the Soviet Press criticised "the attempts of imperialism" to force upon the developing countries the false conception of 'authentic non-alignment' such as 'rich and poor nations'  
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 and "equidistance from the super powers".

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35. Benevolensky, V., n., 5, pp. 118-9.

36. Nirmala Joshi, "NAM and the Soviet Union" The Third World, January-February 1984, vol. 1, New Delhi, p. 24.

37. Izvestija (Moscow), 28 February 1983.

But that was not sufficient. Taking up the concern of the non-aligned nations, the Soviet Press accused the "imperialists" of attempting to divert the attention of the participants in the approaching forum from the solution of cardinal, strategic tasks and of steering them towards artificially blown up issues (Afghanistan and Kampuchia), in which not all non-aligned states<sup>38</sup> shared the same position.

A draft which was presented by India at the beginning of February 1983 Pravda (2 February 1983) attempted to present the content of declaration as being anti western, and did not shrink from an open falsification. The accusation of "atomic terrorism", contained in the draft, applied just as well to the Soviet deterrence doctrine; however, this was speedily reconstructed into a rebuke of western ideas of limited nuclear war. This critical attitude of the Soviets towards the draft was made known in a rather unusual way. Representatives of the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies made a statement to the members of the Indian Press, in which they indicated that a serious blow would be dealt to the NAM, if the "theory of equidistance" should find its way in summit's documents. For the same reason, they<sup>39</sup> criticised the Indian draft resolution on the same occasion.

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38. Tuzmukhamedov, "Neprisoedineni; nekotorye V. Oprosy mezunarodnogo prava", Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i, pravo (Moscow), n. 6 (1981), p. 118.

39. Pravda, 28 January 1983.

With respect to the Conference, the Soviet Press continued to adhere to selective reporting. Silence with regard to discussion on Afghanistan. Not a word about majority view on Kampuchian issue, criticism was reserved only for Singapore which was lambasted by Moscow for attempting, under instructions from the United States imperialists, to divert the non-aligned countries from their main tasks.  
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The Soviet attitude to the developing countries demands that a new economic order be established, is well known. It was re-affirmed in a message of Greetings to Indira Gandhi, Chairman of the 7th Summit Conference of Heads of State and Governments of Non-aligned countries, from the Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers". The "Soviet Union", runs the message, "has always readily supported the efforts of non-alignment movement in struggle for peace security of peoples, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, for reconstructing of international economic relations on just democratic principles, as well as for complete and comprehensive decolonization".  
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#### Eight Non-Aligned Summit Conference

The eight regular conference of Heads of State and Governments of Non-Aligned countries was held in Harare, the

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40. National Herald, 7 March 1983.

41. Rumyantsev, E., n., 1, p. 25.

capital of Republic of Zimbabwe, from September 1 to 7th 1986. Its convocation coincides with the 25th anniversary of the First Conference of leaders of non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in 1961. Over a quarter of a century the movement has become more organized, politically stronger and its membership has grown from 25 countries to more than hundred states with a population of more than 1,500 million peoples.<sup>42</sup>

The imperialist powers and their agents not only tried to upset the Conference, but also make it as difficult as possible to hold the Eight Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries in Harare. Shortly before the Conference, the South African racists carried out air raids on the capitals of the front line state in Southern Africa and combined large scale sabotage in Harare itself. When the Summit meeting was still taking place in Harare the US administration announced the freezing of economic aid to Zimbabwe. But the imperialists and their accomplices failed in their attempts to impede the Harare Conference.<sup>43</sup>

Over the years the non-aligned movement has made tangible contributions to the struggle for peace, security and detente, equitable cooperation and to halting the arms race and achieving

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42. Sergiyev, A., "The Non-Aligned Movement and Today's World", International Affairs (Moscow), Vol. 9, September 1986, p. 60.

43. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhmedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 29.

disarmament. Of late, the actions for averting a missile-nuclear war, strengthening peace and international security have become the main line pursued by the non-aligned movement. As is stated in the Political Declaration of Non- Aligned Nation's coordinating Bureau (New Delhi)" April 1986, the threat of nuclear catastrophe is not thus one issue among many, but the single most important problem facing humanity. Nuclear Disarmament is not just a moral issue; it is an issue of human survival". They also confirmed that the principle providing that outer space is the common property of mankind, should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit and in the interests of all countries irrespective of their economic and scientific development levels and should be accessible to all nations.

Political Declaration of the Harare Conference stated that  
 "The policy of non-alignment, based on its original principles and character ... involves the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism, foreign aggression, occupation and domination as well as against apartheid, racism, zionism, and all forms of dependence, intervention, interference and pressure as well as against great powers and bloc politics". The conference

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44. Sergeyev, A., n., 42, p. 611

45. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 68.

46. NAC/COLF.8/DOC. 1/Rev. 1.



stressed that the movement was adhering to its policy of fighting<sup>47</sup>  
 for peaceful coexistence of states with different social system.  
 It committed the Non-Aligned Movement to work for<sup>the</sup> halting and  
 reversal of present dangerous trends in the international situation  
 promotion of conditions conducive to cooperation and peaceful  
 coexistence among states".<sup>48</sup>

The participants in the Conference expressed satisfaction  
 with the fact that in November 1985 a Soviet-American Summit had<sup>49</sup>  
 taken place in Geneva. However, "they expressed regret that  
 the Geneva summit did not generate the follow-up efforts necessary<sup>50</sup>  
 for progress in disarmament negotiations". They called on Soviet  
 and American sides to reach agreement in the interests of all<sup>51</sup>  
 humanity.

The Harare Conference noted in particular: "Historically,  
 states have considered that they could achieve security through  
 the possession of arms. The advent of nuclear weapons has,  
 however, radically changed this situation. Nuclear weapons are  
 more than weapons of war. They are instruments of mass

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47. Kovalenko Ivan and Tuzmukamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 68.

48. NAC/CONF. 8/DOC.1/ Rev. 1.

49. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 68.

50. NAC/CONF. 8/DOC.1/Rev. 1

51. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 68.

annihilation. The accumulation of weapons, in particular nuclear weapons, constitutes a threat to the continued survival of mankind. It has therefore become imperative that states abandon the dangerous goal of unilateral security through armament and embrace the objective of common security through disarmament".<sup>52</sup>

The Heads of state and Government emphasized the extreme urgency of adopting immediate measures for the prevention of nuclear war and for nuclear disarmament.<sup>53</sup>

The participants stressed that "the idea that the world peace can be maintained through nuclear deterrence, a doctrine that lies at the root of the continuing escalation in the quantity and quality of nuclear weapons and which has, in fact, led to a greater insecurity and instability in international relations than ever before, is the most dangerous myth in existence".<sup>54</sup> The Harare summit conference vigorously confirmed the Movement's principle that outer space is the common property of mankind and must be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and in the interest of all countries and peoples.<sup>55</sup>

Participants called for the conclusion of an international treaty banning nuclear weapons test. They further called for a

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52. NAC/CONF.8/DOC. 1/Rev.1.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov Rais, n., 2, p. 69.

stage reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons on the basis of the principle of equal security, and called for a third special session of UN General Assembly on disarmament.

The Harare Conference adopted the Harare Appeal on disarmament, addressed to the Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, calling on them to stop tendency leading to confrontation and  
56  
conflict.

A special declaration on Southern Africa, unanimously approved by the Harare summit, made it clear that the measures contained in the package, would be applied against pretoria pending the "comprehensive and mandatory" sanctions by the UN Security Council.

Simultaneously, the summit urged the UN to take such a step without any further loss of time. The package contained, among others, prohibition on transfer of technology to South Africa, sale of transport of oil, snapping of air links and termination of any visa free entry privileges, and promotions of tourism to South Africa.

The Harare summit conference of Non-Aligned countries demanded special session of UN General Assembly to ensure independence of Namibia. It also set up a committee comprising some member countries to plead the case of Namibia at the UN. The

summit also set up a committee of foreign ministers drawn from its member countries to visit the US, Britain, Japan, West Germany to persuade their governments to agree to the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

The Harare summit recognised the "urgent need for concerted International action" both short term and long term, to provide relief to the frontline and other states in the region to enable them to withstand the effects of retaliatory sanctions by the racist regime of South Africa. And called for provision of necessary recourses to frontline states to enhance their defence capability and mobilisation of assistance for these states to enhance their capacity to withstand the effects of sabotage, economic blackmail and economic aggression by racist regime. The non-aligned countries agreed to contribute generously to the proposed solidarity fund for Southern Africa.

The Harare summit conference rejected the U.S. policy of constructive engagement vis-a-vis South Africa and asked for immediate independence of Namibia.

In closing address, Prime Minister Dr. Robert Mugabe, Chairman of the summit conference made an appeal to Iran and Iraq to put an end to their tragic conflict.<sup>57</sup>

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57. Times of India, 8 September 1986.

The Eight Conference of Non-Aligned states in Harare qualified the US aggression against Libya as "an act of state terrorism, a gross violation to international law and the Charter of the United Nations". The participants also criticized the US policy of aggression towards the Latin American States, above all  
58 Nicaragua.

The summit also stressed the need for South South cooperation and in this context Dr. Mugabe welcomed the establishment of the Independent commission of the South under the chairmanship of former Tanzanian President, Mr. Julius Nyerere.

The summit made an appeal to the US President, Mr. Ronald Reagan and the Soviet Communist Party chief, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, on Nuclear Disarmament. The participants urged them to reduce the prevailing tension and to promote a climate of confidence in the  
59 world to facilitate major international issues by peaceful means.

In their economic Declarations, the participants in Harare Conference, as they had done earlier in Delhi and Havana, made a principled and concrete statement for the democratization and normalization of international economic relations, for the establishment of a New International Economic Order on a just and equitable basis. Special attention was drawn to the fact that the problems of non-aligned nations economic development were inter-related with the problems of peace and disarmament in view of the

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58. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 103.

59. Times of India, 8 September 1986.

fact that economic development can be effective only in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation.<sup>60</sup>

### SOVIET PERSPECTIVE OF NAM

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have from the outset invariably sided with the non-aligned movement. Soviet leadership has many times declared that the Soviet Union believes that interaction with the non-aligned movement is of tremendous importance for improving international relations. When we talk about the achievements in five major spheres of contemporary world politics. In all these five spheres like consolidation of peaceful coexistence, survival of civilization in the nuclear age, prevention of militarization of outer space, socio-economic development of the peoples, primarily of the newly free countries, ensuring equal participation of all states in solving international problems, the Soviet Union interacts vigorously with the non-aligned movement.<sup>61</sup>

At the 39th session of UN General Assembly in October 1984, the meeting of ministers and Heads of Delegations of Non-Aligned countries condemned the steps towards militarizing outer space<sup>62</sup> "through the introduction of new technologies, the building up of

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60. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 70.

61. Ibid., p. 139.

62. Ibid., p. 78

defence system against nuclear weapons and the search for strategic superiority in new generations of offensive and defensive weapon systems, and came to the conclusion that "the assurance of security through strategic defence is as illusory as the reliance on nuclear deterrence".<sup>63</sup> They have arrived at this conclusion after considering the opinions of scientists who are authorities in the given field. Thus, in April 1983, a large group of world renowned Soviet Scientists had issued an Appeal to the Scientists of the world,<sup>64</sup> pointing out that the SDI (Strategic defence initiative) "is obviously aimed at destabilizing the existing strategic balance". They noted that "the use of anti-missile weapons most of all suits the purposes of the attacking side out to lessen the power of a retaliatory blow."<sup>65</sup>

The USSR is against this. It has consistently came out for non-militarization of outer space. In this endeavour it has the support of all progressive forces, including the non-aligned movement. Non-Alignment and the Soviet Union are against militarization of outer space. The extension of the arms race to outer space, being spurred on by the avaricious military industrial complex of the United States, is irrational and catastrophic. It is completely contrary to the vital interests of all countries and peoples. Expressing the Soviet's "position, which coincides

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63. UN Document A/39/560. S/16773. October 9, 1984.

64. Kavalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 8., pp. 78-9.

65. New Times, London, 1983.

with that of non-aligned movement, Mikhail Gorbachev told the USSR Supreme Soviet in November 1985: "when instead of elimination of nuclear weapons it is proposed to us to extend the arms race to space, we respond with a firm 'no'. We say 'no' because such a step means a new round of the mad squandering of funds. We say 'no' because this means a heightening of the threat which is already looming over the world. We say 'no' because life itself calls for joint action for the sake of peace, and not a competition in armaments".<sup>67</sup>

The Soviet Union took a unilateral step towards non-alignment that was historic in its boldness. When it declared a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, effective from August 6, 1985 and to expire on January 1, 1986 unless United States followed its example. Answering the Six-Nation message of October 24, 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev re-affirmed the USSR's readiness to conclude at once an indefinite treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests.<sup>68</sup> The Soviet Union is also known to have done everything possible at the Geneva meeting in compliance with the same Six-Nations Message. Also in keeping with the spirit of the Six-Nation Appeals was the USSR's decision to prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until March 31, 1986 with a view to securing the establishment of a bilateral Soviet American moratorium. On

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66. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 79

67. Geneva: The Soviet US Summit, November 1985, Documents and Materials, Novosti, Moscow, 1985, p. 82.

68. Pravda, November 8, 1985.



January 15, 1986 USSR came up with a new historic initiative - to eliminate all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

In his message of the February 26, 1986 the USSR declared that "it will not conduct nuclear explosions even after March 31 -  
69 not until the USA carries out its first nuclear explosions.

The above example shows that the both the Soviet Union and Non-aligned countries regard the cessation and prohibition of nuclear tests as a key component to their common efforts to implement the concept of a nuclear free world. This is the fundamental basis of the solidarity and interaction between the movement and the Soviet Union as regards the overriding problem of our time.  
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Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986: "Ensuring security in Asia is a vital importance to the Soviet Union, a major Asian power. The Soviet Programme for eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of current century is harmonious with the sentiments of the peoples of Asian continent, for whom the problems of peace and security are no less urgent than for the  
71 people of Europe".

In new edition of the Party Programme, which was approved by the Twenty Seventh congress on 1 March 1986, it has been declared

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69. Mikhail Gorbachev, Reply to the Joint Message of Leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden, and Greece, March 14, 1986.

70. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n. 2, p. 143.

71. Mikhail Gorbachev, For a Nuclear Free World, Novosti, Moscow, 1987, p. 13.

that "the USSR will continue to be on the side of non-aligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for settling all the disputes and conflicts that arise through negotiations and will be opposed to the involvement of these states in military and political groupings".<sup>71</sup>

Today more than 40 armed conflicts and wars are raging in the world. In each of them the United States is involved to a greater or lesser degree, which means that US strategic concept of "horizontal" and "vertical" escalation applies to each of them. The wars and conflicts are "programmed" by United States to take place in Third world countries. In other words the United States is preparing to participate in a world wide suppression of the people's liberation struggles. The most striking example of the people's struggle for freedom today is to be found in Palestine and Southern African. The fight for freedom and dignity being waged by the indigenous population of South Africa is probably the most dramatic in the entire history of the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The Soviet Union and socialist countries have long proved to be consistent fighters for the elimination of the disgraceful system of Apartheid.<sup>72</sup> The programme of CPSU states: The Party regards it as its internationalist duty to support the struggle of the peoples who are still under the yoke of

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71. Pravda, 2 March 1986.

73. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n. 2, pp. 94-6.

racism and who are victims of the system of apartheid.<sup>74</sup>

The USSR wants Namibia and other South African countries to be free, so that people of all races there may live in peace, equality and concord. It declares its readiness with all who wants peace, justice and freedom in South Africa, without delay to set about elaborating the appropriate measures. The USSR also proposes stepping up the collective search for ways of resolving the conflict situations in Middle East, central America and all other turbulent blocs in the world.<sup>75</sup>

The Soviet Union is ready to take a very active part in resolving the situation in Southern Africa. A settlement will require the solution of number of basic problems. First, there, is a need for a complete cessation and prohibition of further aggressive racist attacks on the frontline African States. Second, the problem of decolonizing Namibia, which has reached a dead end due to the policy of Washington and Pretoria, be resolved without delay. Third, an end must be put to South Africa's apartheid, an inhuman system of racial oppression and exploitation,<sup>76</sup> the very existence of which is a disgrace to the world community.

For several years now the United States of America has been waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua which was condemned by

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74. The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A New Edition, Novosti, Moscow, 1986, p. 72.

75. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 98.

76. Ibid., p. 97.

the participants of the Light Conference of Non-aligned countries. But Soviet Union thinks about terrorism in different manner. Its attitude towards it is explicitly set forth in the political <sup>77</sup> Report of the CPSU Central committee to the 27th Party congress. It says: "crises and conflicts are fertile soil also for international terrorism. Undeclared wars the export of counter-revolution in all forms, political assassinations, the taking of hostages, the hijacking of aircrafts, and bomb explosions in streets, airports and railway stations - such is the hideous face of terrorism, which its instigators try to make with all sorts of cynical inventions. The USSR rejects terrorism in principle and is prepared to cooperate activity with all other states in order to <sup>78</sup> uproot it".

The Soviet Union agrees with the non-aligned movement's evaluations of the world economic situation. It believes the unequal status of the young states in International Economic relations to be a global problem. The widening gap between a handful of highly developed capitalist states and the vast majority of developing nations presents a danger to world peace. As <sup>79</sup> Mikhail Gorbachev has said, "The gap between these two poles in the world is becoming ever wider, and relations between them ever more antagonistic. It cannot be otherwise unless the industrialized capitalist nations alter their self-serving politics". <sup>80</sup>

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77. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 102.

78. Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, Novosti, Moscow, 1986, p. 87.

79. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 82.

80. Mikhail Gorbachev, Peace Has No Alternative, Speeches, Articles, Interview, Patriot, New Delhi, 1986, p. 187.

On all major issues, including problem of development the USSR has sided with the newly free states, including non-aligned countries. It considers to be justified the thesis spelled out in paragraph 3 of the Final Economic Declaration of the Luanda meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Nations. "The continued coexistence of unfavourable external conditions for the development of developing countries not only creates insurmountable obstacles to the process of their economic development but also seriously threatens their economic, political and social stability".

Adequate attention has been paid to economic miseries of the developing countries in the Report of the Central Committee to the Twenty Seventh Congress of the CPSU held in February 1986 while asking for the abolition of all forms of discrimination of International Economic Relations and a joint search for a just settlement of the problems of debts. Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU General Secretary, laid emphasis on the establishment of a New International Economic Order guaranteeing equal economic security to all the nations. The Soviet leader demanded quick reduction of military budgets and utilisation of these funds for the developing countries.

In dealing with the economic situations it should be noted that USSR and rest of the socialist world are in no way to blame for the backwardness of the newly free countries and for thus

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81. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, pp. 82-3.

82. UN General Assembly, Security Council, A/39/560, S/ 16773; October 9, 1984, p. 63.

83. Pravda, 26 February 1986.

present grim economic plight. While coping with formidable domestic, social and economic tasks, the Soviet people, as much as possible, help the non-aligned movement and other newly free countries which are the victims of the imperialism's aggressive policy.

This incidentally, also applies to the debt problem. In its programme the Communist Party of the Soviet Union specifically point out that it <sup>84</sup> "supports the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for a restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic <sup>85</sup> order.

Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev called upon the participants in the 8th Harare NAM summit to "appreciate" to quit at the Soviet Nuclear Testing sites and make efforts to ensure that nuclear test explosions no longer reverberate in the world.

In a message to the Eight NAM summit, he indicated that the NAM and Soviet perceptions showed similarity in approach.

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84. Kovalenko, Ivan and Tuzmukhamedov, Rais, n., 2, p. 144.

85. The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, A New Edition, n. 71, p. 71.

Like the NAM, the Soviet was working to achieve "noble goals" such as raising a dependable barrier to the arms race, blocking militarist ambitions of aggressive forces riding the world of the sores of colonialism, racism and apartheid and achieving true "democratisation" of international, political, economic and humanitarian relations. Appreciating the NAM's principled opposition to the use of force in the settlement of international problems he said, that the movement had made an important contribution in moulding a new political thinking. However, he added, the Soviet Union was against the movement being viewed "through prism of East West confrontation". He appreciated the NAM desire to stay away from military blocs, pursue independent policies without interference, with these countries will always be one of the important aspects of the foreign policy of Soviet Union, he said.

"respite diversity" he regarded the NAM as a strong force against war, aggression, imperialism, colonialism, and racism as a force" adding to the potential of peace, reason, and good will. The message hoped that the Eight summit conference, being held in newly free frontline states of Zimbabwe, will be the important step in the history of non-aligned movement.

Born of the national liberation struggle of peoples independence and complete equality, the non-aligned movement had in its 25 years travelled on an uphill but glorious road, stood its ground and become stronger. The fruitful idea of non-alignment had now established itself as "one of the largest and prestigious

international movement. The movement had now become "an irreplaceable factor of international relations and an influential political force of our age" he added.<sup>86</sup>

In his reply to the "Harare Appeal" Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central committee said "we think highly of the position taken by the Eight Non-Aligned summit in Harare on issues connected with the nuclear danger and of the Non-aligned movement's unique contribution to international development, and are convinced that this contribution will keep growing steadily.

The march of events in the world, notably the dangerous implications of the US administration's policy, had made it imperative, and this has been reflected at the Harare Conference which has brought together the leaders of 100 non-aligned countries, that a political will will be displayed and decisive action taken to bridle the Nuclear Arms race. Being aware of its responsibility for the fate of peace and international security, the Soviet leadership decided to seek a meeting with US President Ronald Reagan without delay.

The Soviet Union completely opposes the Star wars and plans a constructive alternative and large scale cooperation in the peaceful exploration and uses of outer space.

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86. Patriot, 2 September 1986.



We have given due attention to the declaration of readiness by the Harare summit participants to continue to play an active role in accomplishing the task of ensuring international peace and security. Let me assure that the Soviet Union, for its part, it also determined to continue active cooperation and interaction with the non-aligned countries - an influential and progressive force of the times - in solving the burning problems which face mankind<sup>87</sup> today.

Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee assessed the results of the Eight Conference in Harare "a signal success of the non-aligned movement".

The CPSU further emphasised that USSR was willing "to continue to cooperate actively with the non-aligned states in solving<sup>88</sup> the urgent problems of our time".

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87. Mikhail Gorbachev, For a Nuclear Free World, Novosti, Moscow, 1987, p. 245.

88. Pravda, September 27, 1986.

### CONCLUSION

The policy of non-alignment accepted by the majority of non-aligned countries has been the most important event in the history of international relations since the second world war. After the second world war there has been the emergence of military alliances sponsored by two super powers namely United States and Soviet Union. The aim behind the establishment of these military alliances was to dominate and establish their sphere of influence in Asia, Africa and Middle East. In 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) came into being and it was countered by the emergence of Warsaw Treaty Organization in 1955.

After the second world war many newly independent nations emerged in the world scene. These newly independent nations who has suffered at the hands of imperialist forces completely refused to join military alliances or power blocs and decided to keep themselves away from the cold war politics and pursued an independent foreign policy. Nehru gave a lead to other nations to pursue an independent foreign policy. Even before India's independence Nehru has declared that India would remain outside groupings and military alliances and will try to maintain its friendly relations with all peace loving countries. In March 1947, Asian Relations Conference was called to discuss political, economic and cultural relations among the Afro-Asian States. When India got its independence on August 15, 1947, Nehru defined his concept

of non-alignment that India would follow an independent foreign policy. But his policy of keeping away from foreign powers and military alliances was wrongly interpreted in India and abroad. According to Nehru Non-alignment was not neutrality or neutralism but a positive policy to remain independent in foreign affairs and to judge issue on merit. The initial years of non-alignment that is from 1949 to 1950 were the most critical period in the history of non-alignment. The Korean crisis put India's non-alignment to test. India's role in Korean crisis was appreciated because during Korean crisis India demonstrated that Indian policy of non-alignment was neither pro-American nor pro-Russian but as an independent foreign policy.

The victory of communist China and Korean war turned American attention to Asia and efforts were being made to involve West Asian, South Asian and South East Nations in the US sponsored military alliances. In September 1951, the US, Australia and New Zealand signed the ANZUS pact. September 1954 saw the formation of military political alliance between US, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines (SEATO) or Manila Pact. The attempt of Western countries to get more members in SEATO was failed as India, Indonesia, Burma, Sri Lanka refused to join the bloc.

In 1954, the Panch Sheel principles came into existence namely, mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and mutual

benefit and peaceful coexistence were recognised as the solution to the world's problems. These principles were first incorporated between India and China in a Trade and communication agreement for Tibet. Five Principles of Peaceful coexistence were termed as political and legal foundations of the policy of non-alignment. In April 1955, Afro-Asian Conference was called in Bandung, attended by 29 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This Conference brought the People of Asia and Africa for the first time on a common platform and laid down the foundation of the unity of the two continents. It helped in the emergence of Afro-Asian peoples as an organised force. The Bandung Conference discussed the question of world peace, the security of African and Asian states, Peaceful coexistence and complete liberation of Asia and Africa from colonialist-racist regime.

The Bandung Conference was followed by combined attack on Egypt by Britain, France and Israel over the issue of Suez-Canal nationalisation. The Suez Hungarian crises, the greatest confrontation between radical nationalism and major powers occurred in 1956. These crises brought Yugoslavia, Egypt and India close to each other. In 1958, the People's revolution in Iraq overthrew the pro-Western monarchic regime and Iraq embarked on the path of non-alignment and declared its withdrawal from Baghdad Pact. It was the heavy blow to the West's policy in Asia. During 1960-61, the cold war was at its peak in the wake of failure of the US-USSR talks. The U-2 incident, tension over Berlin, the US intervention in Laos and Congo, the Cuban crises, all these problems created the tension in the world.

In September 1960, Nehru, Nasser, Tito and others who were attending the UN General Assembly Session in New York reached an agreement to convene a conference of non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A Preparatory Meeting was called in June 1961 in Cairo to lay down the criteria and agenda for the non-aligned States. This meeting was attended by 20 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. And finally the Belgrade Conference of Non-aligned countries was held in 1961, attended by 25 countries and 3 observers. It drew the important result about the independence and sovereignty of their nations. The participants were of the view that a lasting peace could only be achieved if colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racialism were completely eliminated. The political declaration specifically mentioned to support for the struggle of the Algerian and Angolan peoples for their freedom and independence and demanded the withdrawal of French troops from Tunisia. The Belgrade Conference condemned the foreign aggression of Congo, the imperialist policy in Middle East and the Apartheid policies in South Africa. The participating countries unanimously declared the establishment and maintenance of foreign military bases in territories of other countries, a gross violation of sovereignty of such states. Declaration further added that efforts should be made to remove economic inequality and emphasized the importance of trade and economic cooperation among the member states. In a joint statement, Nehru, Nasser and other leaders demanded the continuation of talks between the UN and USSR for averting the danger of a world war.

Soviet interest in the liquidation of the world colonial system have been very much clear since the very birth of the Soviet State in November 1917. It is fact that the Soviet policy towards non-alignment during 1947-51, as pursued by India, was more verbal than real. After the beginning of 1950s, the Soviet's began to look at the policy of non-alignment more favourable, when the quiet diplomatic overtures were made, before the Stalin's death. The first public recognition of the policy<sup>of</sup> non-alignment was made in 1953, by the Soviet leaders. The Soviet Union hailed the role of India in Korean crisis. The Soviet Union have been supporting the policy of non-alignment and the principle of peaceful coexistence and these principles were included in their foreign policy matters. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries always opposed the division of world into blocs. The Soviet Union recognised the five principles of Panch Sheel and lent a clear hint that it was well set to open a new chapter in its relations with non-aligned countries. The Soviet Union came forward to greet the participants of the Bandung Conference and showed complete understanding of political freedom and economic independence. The twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union highly appreciated the desire of the newly free countries to shun the imperialist and colonialist powers and pursue the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union rendered effective and diversified assistance to the National Liberation movements. Soviet's fully supported the Egyptian people when Egypt was attacked by Britain, France and Israel in 1956.

The Soviet Union was among the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, though, Soviet Union is not the member of the movement but built their relations with the non-aligned countries on the basis of equality, non-interference, mutual respect and due account for their goals, the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and against imperialism and colonialism. The Soviet Union paid handsome tributes to the growing solidarity of developing countries, in spite of their differences. In a written reply to the message sent by the leaders of the First Non-Aligned Summit Conference, Soviet Government affirmed that their views were in large measure, identical with the considerations and decisions of the participants of the Belgrade Conference, the reply emphasized, "would not wish to pursue a course of military rivalry with the Western Powers. This is not our policy, this is not our course and we would not wish to pursue this course, unless we were forced to do so. Our greatest and most cherished wish is to live in friendship with all states, to live in a world without weapons and without war". We are prepared for talks "at any time, at any place and at any level" "and above all" to take part in peace conference in Berlin and Germany.

Before the second Non-Aligned summit conference international political situation has changed. Cuban missile crisis in October 1962, followed by Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, establishment of 'hot line' telecommunication link between Moscow and Washington and beginning of general detente reduced the tension. The second

Non-Aligned Summit Conference held at Cairo outlined in greater detail their attitude to the problem of eliminating the vestiges of colonialism and liberating the people from foreign domination. The participating countries in Cairo supported the efforts of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to establish peace in Congo and fully denounced Portugal's colonialist policy and called for the rupture of the diplomatic relations with Portugal. The Cairo Conference was the first forum to propose peace zones free from nuclear weapons, including world ocean zones, in particular the Indian Ocean, should be set up.

During the third Non-Aligned Summit Conference international situation was not in favour of the movement. Vietnam War was going on. There was confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. East Asian situation was in worst situation due to the Israeli aggression in 1977. The Conference declared its full support for the struggle of Indo-Chinese peoples against the US aggression. In the final communique the strong statements on Africa and full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine were mentioned. The Conference participants demanded the Indian ocean to be an area of peace, free from military bases. On the question of disarmament the Conference in their resolution demanded 1970s as the Disarmament Decade and gave detailed recommendations to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons and suggested for calling for a World Disarmament Conference.

The Soviet view of non-alignment has evolved and developed in stages. The period extending down the Lusaka Conference



was regarded by Soviet leadership as a uniform movement. A blanket support was adopted for the movement. The Non-aligned countries changed their attention from political issues to economic issues. The changing attitude of Soviet Union has started in mid 1960s, when Soviet's manifested its inclination to develop relations with aligned nations like, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, but the new found interest in Soviet policy failed to produce good results. From middle to the end of 1960s, Soviet's strategy towards third world changed radically. The Soviet proceeded from the assumption that a new stage in the development of the National Liberation Movement had begun. It was no longer a matter of the struggle for political independence, the central issue was now the struggle against exploitation, the choice of the way of development - capitalist or Non-capitalist was the focal point of this struggle.

By the mid of 1960, problems and disputes considerably weakened the Afro-Asian solidarity and nearly paralyzed the NAM. Nonetheless Yugoslavia against the background of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was successful in its efforts to convene Lusaka Conference. Soviet Union feared that its intervention will be criticised by the Conference, therefore, it did everything in its power to check such a possibility at an early stage. In a message to the Chairman of the Lusaka Conference, the USSR Council of Ministers emphasized that ... In firmly and consistently upholding the Principle of peaceful coexistence, the

Government and the people of Soviet Union support the constructive plans of the Governments and Peoples of other states, which are aimed at saving mankind from the threat of new cold war.

Algiers conference took the movement further along the nuclear road. Detente had come to Europe. SALT-I was signed. During the Conference China came closer to USA. In 1972 Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation, Mozambique and Angola had won the freedom. America lost the Vietnam war and Paris agreement was signed between France and Germany in 1973. The Political Declaration of Algiers Conference formalised the new aspects of the non-aligned countries' approach to the problem of detente, namely the Conference demanded that it should spread to all the areas of the world and that wars still going on in Africa, South East Asia (Laos, Cambodia), and the Middle East (Israeli aggression) should be stopped. They further called to break off diplomatic relations with Israel and they further condemned American bombing of North Vietnam and later welcomed the ceasefire in South Vietnam. There was a shift of attention from the problem of National Liberation to Economic Liberation and it was said that without economic liberation, independence could be neither complete nor stable. Participants noted in their Economic Declaration that imperialism is still the hindrance in development of non-aligned countries.

Soviet Union welcomed the Algiers Conference. Brezhnev expressed his deep concern on the efforts being made in some quarters to separate the socialist countries from the non-aligned

countries. He declared that for the Soviet Union the decision of the world into rich and poor is not correct rather it was between the forces of socialism, peace and progress and the forces of imperialism and colonialism. Just after the Algiers Conference Pravda observed that the non-aligned movement has begun to assume an important role in world politics in the last few years. Soviet Union together with the people of Asian, African and Latin American states constitute an important component of the standing army of national liberation, progress and peace in world assured for future that we shall follow a parallel course. Soviet Union supported the demand of the decolonisation and abolition of racialism and apartheid and further demanded a New International Economic Order. The Soviet Union and non-aligned countries have been making efforts to stop the arms race. And later on Soviet Union put forward a proposal at the 26th UN General Assembly session in 1971 on holding a world Disarmament Conference. In 1972, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution for Permanent Ban on the use of nuclear weapons<sup>which</sup> has been the major contribution initiated by the Soviet Union. About 130 states majority of which were non-aligned signed a Treaty on Non proliferation of Nuclear weapons on Soviet initiative. The Soviet Union's consistent policy of strengthening solidarity with the non-aligned countries was reaffirmed most strikingly in the conclusion of Treaties of Friendship and cooperation with India, Egypt, Iraq, Somalia and Angola. Brezhnev in his speech at the world Conference of Peace forces on October 1973, emphasized that the results of Algiers Conference are of considerable international importance. He further

added that the Conference reaffirmed these countries determination to fight purposefully against imperialism, war and aggression, and for peace and independence and freedom of nations.

The results of the Colombo Conference has been very much favourable to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the movement, provided substantial aid and assistance to non-aligned countries and played a crucial role in creating an international environment conducive to the non-aligned movement. During the visit of Mrs. Gandhi to USSR on June 8, 1976, Brezhnev declared that Soviet Union welcomes the growing role of non-aligned countries in world politics. He give recognition to the positive role of non-alignment in which India occupies an outstanding place. He wish success to the non-aligned countries at Colombo Conference. Soviet Union firmly safeguards the political and economic independence of Angola, Mozambique and other African countries and supported in their fight against South African racist regime. The Soviet's is also firm on its support for the Palestinian people's struggle for their legitimate rights and assured that Soviet Union will continue to help Arab people .

Economic assistance to the non-aligned countries is a major component of Soviet foreign policy and it is meant to strengthen the economic independence of the non-aligned countries. Soviet assistance to India clearly shows a model cooperation between the countries of the two different political systems. The Soviet Union is of the view that non-aligned movement can become a decisive force only when <sup>it</sup> draws closer to the Socialist

camp as a result weakening the capitalist camp. Welcoming its increasing role of the developing countries in world politics, Brezhnev told the 25th CPSU Congress in February 1976 that the Soviet Union's attitude to the complex processes inside the developing countries is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples ... But we don't conceal our views ... and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle.

In the beginning of 1970s various trends in non-alignment has started their influences. The first is to emphasize the community of interests between the non-aligned countries and socialist countries or that may be termed as non-alignment plus, i.e. closer cooperation between non-aligned countries and socialist countries as against imperialism, (Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iraq and Vietnam). The Soviet trend is to stress the need for equidistance between two Super powers. This entails closer cooperation between non-aligned countries and imperialist - capitalist states, U.S.A. in particular (Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, Saudi Arabia and Somalia). Finally there is a trend seeking to bring the collective influence of non-aligned movement to bear on such crucial issues of the time as the New International Economic Order, regional security and detente (Ghana, Lanka, Tanzania, Yugoslavia). The Soviet Union in the 1970s adopted discerning attitude in Somalian Ethiopian conflict.

It is an undisputable fact that the non-aligned countries have common interests and cooperation with the Soviet Union is vital to them. The Soviet Union extended its support to the efforts of the third world to attain and consolidate political independence and to build a self reliant economy. The Soviet Union came out consistently for deepening the process of relaxation of international tension for spreading detente to all regions of the world. The results of the Havana Conference were viewed by Soviets as of immense success, because anti-imperialist resolutions were adopted by the Summit Conference. In addition, the Castro's election to the chairman of the Non-Aligned countries created favourable conditions for the Soviet Union.

During the New Delhi Summit Conference the international situation changed. The Russian intervention in Afghanistan, Iran Iraq war and Falkland crisis were witnessed. The participants in their political Declaration protested against the act of aggression, against the people of Nicaragua, interference in internal affairs of El Salvador, Surinam and Belize, condemned the economic blockade of Cuba by US, and supported the inalienable rights of Palestine people.

By the early 1980s, Soviet Union had helped and supported the third world countries with economic assistance. Soviet Union supported peace and disarmament and complete decolonization. Soviet also supported the proposal of non-aligned countries for convening a special General Assembly session on disarmament.

On August 5, 1982, Kremlin received the delegation of foreign minister's committee of Non-aligned states on Palestine issue. The Delegation informed the member of political Bureau of CPSU Central Committee about the stand taken by non-aligned countries in connection with Israeli aggression <sup>against</sup> Lebanon and Palestine. In their reply the Soviet Union insisted that aggression against Lebanon and Palestine must be urgently terminated and withdrawal of aggressor's troops should be made. The Soviet Union finally declared that blockade of West Beirut be immediately lifted and stressed for their aid and support to Lebanese and Palestine People. The military intervention in Afghanistan demonstrated clearly Soviet's long term objectives in the third world countries. The Soviet Union declared that its intervention was to support National Liberation Movement.

The world saw the change in world situation during the Harare summit conference. Shortly before the Harare conference, the South African racists regime carried out air raids on the capitals of the front line states. When the Harare summit conference was going on the United States declared the economic sanctions against Zimbabwe but they failed in their attempt to impede the Conference. Political Declaration stated that the policy of non-alignment based on its original principles and character ... involves the struggle against imperialism colonialism, neocolonialism, foreign aggression, hegemonism, occupation and domination as well as apartheid, racism, Zionism and all form of dependence. Geneva summit between US and USSR in 1985 was welcomed by the participating

members. Much emphasis was given on prevention of nuclear war and for nuclear disarmament. They called for the conclusion of an international treaty banning nuclear weapons. Independence of Namibia centered the discussion on international situation. The non-aligned countries were agreed to contribute to the proposed solidarity fund for South Africa. Iran-Iraq war, intervention in Afghanistan, American attack on Libya were the causes of concern for the member states. They demanded for stopping Iran-Iraq war, withdrawal of Russian forces from Afghanistan and independence of Palestine people. The participants of the Harare Conference made a principled and concrete statement for the democratization of normalization of international economic relations, for the establishment of economic relations on a just and equitable basis.

Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have from the outset invariably sided with the non-aligned movement. Non-aligned and the Soviet Union are against the militarization of outer space. The Soviet Union boldly supported the banning of nuclear explosions. Answering the six nation Message of October 24, 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev declared its readiness to conclude a treaty banning all nuclear weapons tests. The Soviet Union has been the consistent fighters for the elimination of disgraceful system of apartheid. Communist Party of Soviet Union states that the Soviet Union regards it as its internationalist duty to support the struggle of the peoples who are still under the yoke of racism and who are victims of the system of Apartheid. The Soviet wants Namibia and other South African



countries to be free and live in peace, equality and concord. The Soviet Union agrees with the non-aligned countries' evaluations of the world economic situation. The widening gap between the developed capitalist states and the developing states presents a danger to world peace. The Soviet Union has sided with the newly free states including non-aligned states in making their economy in better shape. Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU General Secretary emphasized the establishment of a new International Economic Order guaranteeing equal economic security to all nations and demanded the reduction of military budgets. In a message to the delegates of the Harare Conference, Mikhail Gorbachev declared that Soviet Union was against the movement being viewed between East and West Confrontation. He appreciated the movement desire to stay <sup>away</sup> from military blocs and pursuance of the non-aligned policy.

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